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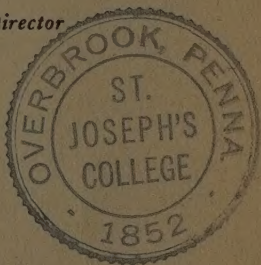


By the
LABOR RESEARCH DEPARTMENT
of the
RAND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

NATHAN FINE, *Director*

Volume XI

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NOTICE

The American Labor Year Book aims to be as accurate as possible. Secretaries of National and International Unions, State Federations of Labor, Labor, Socialist, and Communist Parties, Cooperatives, and kindred organizations in the United States and abroad are therefore **URGENTLY** requested to send copies of Annual Reports, Convention Proceedings, Journals, and other publications when published. The courtesy will be most highly appreciated.

LABOR RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

Rand School of Social Science

7 East 15th Street,

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FOREWORD

The year 1929 will undoubtedly go down in American labor history as one of the most significant since the end of the World War. It is not only because of the upheaval in the South, the revival of the Ladies' Garment Workers, the Philadelphia victory of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the successful organizing drive of the Railway Clerks, the demand for the six-hour day by the Railroad Brotherhoods, the winning of the five-day week by a quarter of a million toilers, the split in the United Mine Workers, the formation of the Trade Union Unity League, the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, and the League for Independent Political Action, and the remarkable poll of the Socialist Party in New York City. These developments were indeed important. But what made the past year of paramount importance was that the industrial depression which set in at its close and the workings of capitalism in America and abroad, in particular the going together of rationalization and unemployment, raised the question as never before: Whither American and world capitalism? The student will watch with interest the events of the coming years. The active participant will follow with concern the next steps of the rulers of the capitalist nations of the world—including the achievements of labor and communist governments—and will bend his every effort to fashion a labor movement in this country with the power and will to realize its own high destiny.

The importance of certain events and limitations of space naturally determine the contents of the AMERICAN LABOR YEAR BOOK from year to year. The reader is advised to consult previous issues for what he does not find in this, the 1930 edition.

The present volume is the result of a cooperative endeavor. Harry T. Smith contributed the sections on International Relations and Labor Abroad, excepting the story on Great Britain, which was done by Mark Starr.

Carol Weiss King wrote the chapter on Court Decisions Affecting Labor; Carl Raushenbush that on Labor Legislation; and Cedric Long the one on Cooperation. Gladys Friedman prepared the tables on Labor Banking, and a host of others supplied indispensable reports, documents, and information. Forrest Bailey and Louis Stanley read the sections on Civil Liberties and Trade Union Organization respectively, and both made constructive comments. The editor is greatly indebted for advice and encouragement to Harry W. Laidler, chairman, David Rubinow, and other members of the Labor Research Committee: William E. Bohn, Paul F. Brissenden, Herman Kobbe, Algernon Lee, James Oneal, Nellie M. Seeds, Clarence Senior, Louis Stanley, and Norman Thomas.

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LABOR CONVENTIONS IN 1930

JANUARY

- 13— Seamen Washington
- 13— Furriers Montreal
- 20— Masters, Mates and Pilots..... Washington

FEBRUARY

- 10— Marine Engineers Detroit

MARCH

- 10— United Mine Workers (John L. Lewis, president)
Indianapolis
- 10— United Mine Workers (Alexander Howat, president)
Springfield

APRIL

- 7— Arkansas Federation of Labor.....
- 7— Louisiana Federation of Labor..... Baton Rouge
- 15— Iron, Steel and Tin Workers..... Youngstown

MAY

- 12— Alabama Federation of Labor..... Tuscaloosa
- 12— Amalgamated Clothing Workers..... Toronto
- 12— Foundry Employes
- 19— Kansas Federation of Labor..... Wichita
- 19— Musicians
- Communist Party of the Soviet Union..... Moscow

JUNE

- 1— National Miners' Union.....
- 2— Locomotive Engineers Cleveland
- 3— Colorado Federation of Labor..... Pueblo
- 3— Theatrical Stage Employes..... Los Angeles
- 9— Meat Cutters Detroit
- 9— Wyoming Federation of Labor..... Thermopolis
- 10— Iowa Federation of Labor.....
- 10— Maine Federation of Labor.....
- 23— Pattern Makers Indianapolis
- 30— Teachers Memphis

JULY

- 1— International Conference of Negro Workers.... London
- 7— International Federation of Trade Unions
(Amsterdam) Stockholm
- 15— Red International of Labor Unions..... Moscow
- 21— Printers and Die Stampers..... Boston
- 21— Stereotypers Indianapolis
- Bookbinders Toronto

AUGUST

- 4— Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers..... Salt Lake City
- 18— Minnesota Federation of Labor..... Duluth
- 18— Photo-Engravers Boston
- 25— West Virginia Federation of Labor.....
- 26— New York Federation of Labor..... Buffalo
- Nevada Federation of Labor..... Ely

SEPTEMBER

8—	Fire Fighters	Halifax
8—	Illinois Federation of Labor	Springfield
8—	New Jersey Federation of Labor	
8—	Railroad Signalmen	Chicago
8—	Textile Workers (American Federation of Labor)	
		New York
8—	Typographical Union	Houston
9—	Indiana Federation of Labor	Indianapolis
15—	Arizona Federation of Labor	Miami
15—	Brick and Clay Workers	
15—	Lithographers	St. Louis
15—	Oklahoma Federation of Labor	
16—	New Hampshire Federation of Labor	Lebanon
	California Federation of Labor	Marysville
	Oregon Federation of Labor	Medford
	International Transport Workers' Federation	London

OCTOBER

6—	American Federation of Labor	Boston
	Building Trades Department	Boston
	Metal Trades Department	Boston
	Union Label Trades Department	Boston

NOVEMBER

10—	Industrial Workers of the World	Chicago
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INTERNATIONAL LABOR DIARY, 1929

January

- 6—Constitution of Yugoslavia abrogated by King Alexander; unions and labor political organizations suppressed.
- 10—Julio Mella, Cuban communist, assassinated at Mexico City.

February

- 4—Political prisoners died in 8-day hunger strike at Kovno, Lithuania; Augustinas Voldemaras, former dictator, forced to resign on September 19; Social Democratic Party legalized on December 4.
- 12—Leon Trotsky, former commander of the Red Army of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, arrived in Constantinople, after having been exiled by Communist Party, of which Joseph Stalin is secretary; request to settle in Germany, Great Britain, and elsewhere, denied; remained at Pera, suburb of city.

March

- 2—John Topalcsanyi, of Herminie, Pa., arrested; citizenship revoked on ground that he had declared himself "a pure Red Communist" in letter to brother in Hungary.
- 4—Workers' (Communist) Party convention opened in New York; name changed to Communist Party; fight for leadership between Lovestone and Foster factions taken to Moscow; Jay Lovestone, Benjamin Gitlow, Bertram Wolfe, and others expelled in June and subsequent months.
- 5—Senji Yamamoto, one of eight proletarian deputies in the Japanese lower house, assassinated by a member of a reactionary patriotic society.
- 6—A workmen's compensation law was adopted by North Carolina; Arkansas, Florida, Mississippi and South Carolina still without one.
- 12—Strike of rayon workers in Elizabethton, Tenn., began; workers returned on March 22, but struck again in April; re-entered mills on May 27.
- 21—Explosion in the Kinloch coal mine at Parnassus, Pa. killed 46 workers.
- 22—Minnesota passed an old age pension law; Wyoming also in March; Utah, March 25; California, May 28.

April

- 2—Gastonia, North Carolina strike broke out; headquarters and relief stores destroyed by masked mob, April 18; Chief of Police O. F. Aderholt killed on June 7; trial began on September 30 of seven men; verdict handed down in second trial on October 21; long prison sentences to strikers and their leaders.
- 4—Alfred Hoffmann and Edward McGrady of the American Federation of Labor kidnapped, driven to state line, and ordered never to return to Elizabethton, Tenn., where they had been conducting the strike; although names of kidnappers were known, none was brought to justice.
- 5—Convention of Workers Education Bureau started in Washington, D. C.; James H. Maurer, president since its formation, resigned; disaffiliation of Brookwood by executive committee sustained; Thomas E. Burke elected president, Spencer Miller, Jr., secretary.

- 24—Danish elections held: Socialists increased their representation in the lower house of Parliament from 53 to 61; Theodore Stauning thereupon formed coalition government with the help of the Radicals.
- Railway labor executives, meeting in Cleveland, declared for a maximum 5-day week and 6-hour day.

May

- 1—Defiance by the Communists of an order issued by Carl Zoergiebel, Socialist chief of police of Berlin, barring street parades, cost lives of 23 and wounding of many more.
- Howard Y. Williams elected executive secretary, and John Dewey, chairman of the League for Independent Political Action, started by liberals and Socialists to promote formation of progressive-labor-farmer party.
- 17—First national conference of the Communist League (Opposition) held in Chicago; platform adopted in harmony with that of "Trotskyites" in international Communist movement.
- 20—Decision handed down by United States Supreme Court in St. Louis and O'Fallon Railway Co. case, ordering Interstate Commerce Commission to consider reproduction cost in valuation and rate-making; concession worth billions to railway security holders.
- Convention of Musicians' Union adopted ringing resolution and voted large funds to fight the talkies; increased salary of President Joseph N. Weber to \$20,000 a year.
- 24—Wisconsin adopted a law against "yellow dog contracts."
- 25—Conference for Progressive Labor Action (C.P.L.A.) organized by trade unionists and labor sympathizers in New York; A. J. Muste elected chairman; *Labor Age* made official organ.
- 26—Belgian elections resulted in a loss for Socialists; drop from 78 to 70 seats in lower house; Communists dropped from 2 to 1 representative.
- 27—Chinese authorities raided Harbin consulate of Soviet Union; jailed 37; seized Chinese Eastern Railway on July 9; forced to return to status quo ante by Red Army; complete victory for Soviet Russia.
- Rosika Schwimmer, pacifist, barred by decision of United States Supreme Court from becoming citizen because of her stated refusal to bear arms.
- 30—British Labor Party secured 287 out of 615 Parliamentary seats, a tremendous gain for them and a defeat for the Conservative Party; Ramsay MacDonald formed Labor Government.
- Latin-American Trade Union Confederation organized at Montevideo, Uruguay by left wing and Communist groups.

June

- 7—Young plan is signed; final distribution of annuities agreed upon at The Hague conference on August 30, to the satisfaction of Philip Snowden.
- 13—Amalgamated Clothing Workers called strike of Navytone Company in Philadelphia; agreement signed on July 27; throughout summer and fall whole market center of organization effort, with collective agreements signed for most concerns; extraordinary victory for union; one of the most drastic injunctions issued against the union during the organizing campaign.
- 15—President Hoover signed the Agricultural Marketing Act, without the debenture provision.
- Supreme Economic Council of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics decreed a year of 360 work-days; with five holidays; 5-day week.

July

- 1—Elections in Finland: Socialists obtained 59 seats (60 formerly); Communists secured 23 (formerly 20).
- “National origins” quotas went into effect; immigration into the United States restricted to 150,000 annually.
- 11—Strike at Marion, North Carolina, began; agreement on September 11; workers struck again on October 2, claiming violation; deputies killed six strikers and wounded 20 more, in early morning of October 2.
- Cloak makers' strike of New York ended; control over shops secured by International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, with large gain in membership.
- 16—Socialist Youth International met in Vienna, preceded by youth rally of 50,000.
- 29—Half a million cotton mill operatives in Lancashire, England, struck against a 12½ percent reduction in wages; ended August 19 by arbitration; workers took smaller cut.

August

- 1—Anti-war day demonstrations held by Communists throughout world.
- Five Communist young women arrested in California for flying red flag over children's camp near Los Angeles; sentenced October 22 from six months to 10 years; Isadore Berkowitz, also arrested, committed suicide.
- 6—Rumanian soldiers killed 32 and wounded over 200 miners at the Lupeni coal mines in Transylvania; Dr. Pistiner, Socialist leader, charged the Peasant Party, in control of the government, with plot to seize mines from Bratianu and Liberal Party capitalists.
- Victor L. Berger died in Milwaukee from injuries received in street-car accident; was first Socialist congressman in the United States; helped make Eugene V. Debs a Socialist and was active for nearly 50 years in trade union and Socialist movement.
- 15—Second conference of Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat opened in Vladivostok, U. S. S. R.
- 31—Trade Union Unity League organized as successor to Trade Union Educational League at convention in Cleveland, with 690 delegates; William Z. Foster elected secretary, and *Labor Unity* made official organ.

September

- 14—Mrs. Ella May Wiggins murdered, while on her way to attend a meeting of textile workers in Gastonia.
- Jatindranath Das, leader of Bengal Youth Movement, died after a 61-day hunger strike in Lahore prison.
- 20—League Against Imperialism recalled James Maxton of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain as chairman.
- 29—Socialist trade unionists of Finland organized own federation; old trade union federation was split in May, 1929, convention.

October

- 4—Ramsay MacDonald arrived in New York; issued call with President Hoover for 5-Power Conference on Naval Armaments.
- 7—Convention of American Federation of Labor opened at Toronto; national drive to organize the South emphasized; meeting of representatives of unions held in Washington November 14, and 5-plank program adopted; convention addressed by Ramsay MacDonald.
- 10—Charter of District No. 12, Illinois soft coal miners, revoked by President John L. Lewis; temporary injunction secured by Harry Fishwick, Walter Nesbit, et al, Illinois mine officials; plea for its dissolution denied on January 23, 1930.

- 12—Elections in Australia swept Labor Party into power; 46 out of 75 parliamentary seats secured; James Henry Scullin, prime minister, formed Labor Government.
- 18—General strike of Amsterdam federation unions in Latvia against a government decree depriving sick benefit funds of autonomy.
- 23—Crash in American stock exchanges; trading day of 16,410,030 shares on October 29; lowest prices of panic reached on November 13; President Hoover announced national conferences with leaders of business, labor and agriculture on November 15; meeting of 400 key business men in Washington on December 5.
- 27—Parliamentary elections in Czechoslovakia raised representation of Czech Socialists from 29 to 39, German Socialists, from 17 to 21; Communists dropped from 41 to 30; Socialists entered coalition government, German Socialists for first time in history of republic.
- 31—President Daszynski of the lower house of Parliament of Poland, Socialist leader, refused to proceed in presence of 100 army officers; Socialists forced reactionary militarist, capitalist, and agrarian interests to give up hope of making General Pilsudski dictator.

November

- 5—Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for Mayor of New York City, received 175,697 votes; over four times his previous poll in 1925.
- Reading, Pa., Socialists elected two remaining council members, thus winning complete control of city government and approval of their administration.
- British House of Commons approved resumption of diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia.
- 17—Communists increased representation in Berlin city council from 43 to 56, while Socialists dropped from 73 to 64, in local election.
- 21—Governor C. C. Young of California transferred material on Thomas Mooney case to the Advisory Pardon Board for "study." He was to have passed on it himself, and promised to do so. Warren K. Billings made application in November to Supreme Court for pardon.
- President Hoover met the leaders of American trade unions; statement given out by White House that no movements looking to wage increases would be initiated.
- 27—Tom Zema, Pete Muselin and Milan Resetar, three Communists arrested in Woodlawn, Pa., when Muselin's home was raided on November 11, 1926, entered prison, after their appeal was ignored by the United States Supreme Court; they were indicted and convicted under the Pennsylvania anti-sedition law.
- 28—Congress of trade union federation of India, meeting in Nagpur, split; Subash Bose, radical nationalist, led one group; old leaders, M. Joshi, Chaman Lall, and others, another.

December

- 2—Secretary of State Stimson appealed to Soviet Russia and China in the name of the Kellogg Pact to adjust their differences over the Chinese Eastern Railway by pacific means; the Soviet Union replied that negotiations were practically concluded and that the interference was not a friendly act.
- 4—Martial law declared by American marines in Haiti.
- 5—Congress reduced income taxes for the well-to-do to the extent of \$160,000,000.
- 7—Austrian Socialists accepted certain minor amendments to the Constitution and staved off civil war.

I. INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS

WORLD ECONOMIC SITUATION

Increased Production.—As measured by the production of basic industries, nearly all of the leading nations of the world continued during 1929 to improve their economic situation. Most of the once-warring European powers had already, between 1924 and 1928, greatly bettered their position. In fact, in the last six years, 1924-1929, the production indices of Germany, France, and particularly Soviet Russia (Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, U. S. S. R.) show proportionate gains almost as great, if not far greater in certain years, than those of the United States:

Production Indices¹
(1928 = 100)

<i>Year</i>	<i>United States</i>	<i>Great Britain</i>	<i>Germany</i>	<i>France</i>	<i>Russia²</i>
1924	86.4	94.8	73.7	85.8	29.9
1925	94.5	....	89.5	85.0	48.1
1926	98.2	....	84.6	99.2	67.8
1927	96.4	101.2	103.9	86.6	82.7
1928	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1929					
Jan.	106.4	....	103.7	107.9	117.2
Feb.	106.4	....	98.5	107.1	112.4
Mar.	108.2	104.5	101.6	108.7	120.3
Apr.	110.9	....	108.1	109.4	125.8
May	111.8	....	104.2	109.4	106.0
June	114.5	106.1	105.5	111.0	116.3
July	112.7	....	102.2	109.4	115.1
Aug.	111.8	....	104.1	109.4	122.5
Sept.	110.0	104.5	105.0	108.7	....
Oct.	106.4	....	106.5	111.0	....
Nov.	97.3	....	....	112.6	....

Steel Production.—The figures of steel production—one of the most important single indices—show the upward trend between 1918 and 1929 strikingly. Last year the leading producers of steel, without exception, reached their highest levels since the end of the war. The advances that the Soviet Union have made are phenomenal. Germany is again on her

¹ *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, League of Nations, December, 1929.

² Economic years ending September 30.

feet industrially. France has made great strides. While the United States manufactured steel at an extraordinary rate for the first ten months of 1929, it is important to note that the other steel-producing countries also exceeded their average monthly output of 1928 and previous years:

Steel Production¹
(In thousands of metric tons)

Year	Monthly Average							
	United States	Germany ²	Great Britain	France ³	Russia	Belgium	Luxembourg	Italy
1913	2,564	1,467	649	391	354	206	101	82
1918	3,645	986	808	150	...	1	73	83
1919	2,853	573	668	180	...	28	32	61
1920	3,461	650	768	226	14	104	49	64
1921	1,628	772	314	258	15	64	64	59
1922	2,927	943	498	378	30	130	117	87
1923	3,682	525	718	426	61	191	100	102
1924	3,117	820	696	575	95	240	157	122
1925	3,737	1,016	625	621	177	212	174	158
1926	3,794	1,028	305	703	260	278	187	157
1927	3,675	1,359	770	692	310	307	206	133
1928	4,222	1,210	722	783	357	328	214	164
1929 ⁴								
Jan.	4,562	1,470	777	837	401	357	225	184
Feb.	4,395	1,270	787	742	354	302	195	177
Mar.	5,139	1,314	874	804	419	349	221	180
Apr.	5,017	1,415	822	810	417	342	226	183
May	5,358	1,421	857	820	397	340	230	201
June	4,960	1,430	844	797	396	349	219	182
July	4,916	1,466	818	815	380	356	235	187
Aug.	5,006	1,402	765	827	400	365	238	162
Sept.	4,583	1,231	862	763	...	347	224	182
Oct.	4,584	1,377	904	847	...	369	242	190
Nov.	3,569	1,286	828	790	430	333	231	180

Exports of Merchandise.—With an improved economic situation and increased production has come a marked gain in the amount of goods exported by most of the industrial nations. While the United States has made great headway in its sales abroad since the war the European and Asiatic powers are today thoroughly equipped and determined to find markets for their ever-increasing volume of merchandise. Since the catastrophic years immediately following the armistice, Germany especially, Belgium, and latterly the Soviet Union, have made considerable headway. Canada, Italy, and Japan have made great gains in comparison even with pre-war years. While the share of Europe as a whole in world exports dropped between 1913 and 1925 from 55.19 to 44.68 percent, in the last four years, 1926-1929, it has slowly

¹ *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, League of Nations, December, 1929.

² Excluding Luxembourg; excluding Alsace-Lorraine since 1918; excluding Saar since 1919; excluding Polish Upper Silesia since 1922.

³ Including Alsace-Lorraine since 1919, which in 1918 produced 122,500 tons as monthly average.

⁴ Figures for 1929 for the United States cover establishments whose production in 1928 amounted to 94.51 per cent of the total output.

Exports of Merchandise¹

(In millions of dollars)

Country	Exports				Per Cent of World Exports			
	1913	1926	1927	1928	1913	1926	1927	1928
United States ...	2,466	4,712	4,759	5,030	13.43	15.83	15.20	15.60
Great Britain ...	2,557	3,173	3,447	3,520	13.93	10.66	11.01	10.92
Germany	2,403	2,328	2,429	2,777	13.09	7.82	7.76	8.62
France	1,328	1,925	2,153	2,013	7.23	6.47	6.87	6.24
Canada	432	1,270	1,253	1,423	....	4.27	4.00	4.40
India	772	1,171	1,156	1,206	....	3.93	3.69	3.74
Italy	485	726	805	764	2.64	2.44	2.57	2.37
Holland .....	....	701	762	799	....	2.35	2.43	2.48
Japan	316	929	906	886	1.72	3.12	2.89	2.75
Belgium	702	652	740	839	3.82	2.19	2.36	2.60
Czechoslovakia ..	....	524	596	627	....	1.76	1.90	1.95
Russia	775	362	411	404	4.22	1.21	1.31	1.25
Total Europe	10,131	13,415	(1925)		55.19	44.68	(1925)	
Total World	18,356	29,770	31,308	32,233	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Exports of Merchandise²

(In thousands of country's currency)

Year	Monthly Average					
	United States Dollars	Great Britain £s	Germany Reichsmark	France Francs	Japan Yen	Russia Gold Rubles
1913	204,024	43,771	841,436	573,351	52,393	126,678
1918	503,990	41,785	.....	393,561	160,218	6,223
1919	645,818	66,553	838,083	989,967	170,897	4
1920	673,373	111,206	5,785,100	2,241,245	158,864	90
1921	364,911	58,617	8,299,713	1,647,709	102,371	1,683
1922	313,758	59,959	330,833	1,781,579	133,007	6,802
1923	340,893	63,938	508,527	2,572,236	117,436	17,152
1924	374,804	66,747	545,971	3,530,743	146,741	25,225
1925	401,560	64,448	733,208	3,882,676	184,968	46,782
1926	392,643	54,421	815,265	4,936,893	164,371	52,736
1927	396,572	59,090	851,952	4,577,063	159,313	52,893
1928	419,175	60,286	970,050	4,278,900	159,095	54,178
1929						
Jan.	480,384	66,880	1,035,057	3,701,892	173,662	52,284
Feb.	434,531	55,665	920,320	4,117,941	145,147	48,562
Mar.	481,716	58,623	930,385	4,180,206	162,673	60,544
Apr.	418,085	60,244	1,163,950	4,419,445	171,995	57,851
May	376,919	67,437	1,098,191	3,958,909	178,751	50,400
June	386,915	49,893	1,014,884	4,349,341	154,421	67,710
July	393,835	66,520	1,030,565	4,269,148	184,338	69,783
Aug.	374,845	63,045	1,123,201	3,804,235	214,978	67,700
Sept.	432,319	55,104	1,136,703	4,221,004	187,344	67,500
Oct.	528,549	64,589	1,164,818	4,385,958	201,767	75,502
Nov.	448,000	63,125	1,094,035	4,267,785	170,610	68,300

but steadily increased. By rationalization—scientific management, increased productivity of workers and new equipment—as well as mergers, cartels, tariffs and state aid, at home and abroad, all the industrial powers are making every effort to hold and expand their foreign trade. The preceding tables indicate how well each nation has succeeded since 1913 in

¹ Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, League of Nations, November, 1929.

² Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, League of Nations, December, 1929. See pages 451-454 for explanations.

increasing the amount of its exports of merchandise. The first gives the value of exports and the percent of the world total for twelve leading exporters in 1913, and 1926-1928; the second shows the monthly average for each year since 1913, and the first 11 months of 1929, for six of the most important countries.

Armies of Unemployed.—Despite the gains made in production and in export—or because of them—the problem of unemployment continued to be a most serious one in a number of lands. Both capitalist and communist nation continued to have in 1929 large armies of the unemployed. During the first two months of the past year the number of workless wage-earners reached extraordinary heights in Austria, Germany, Italy and Great Britain. In the first quarter of 1929 there was a large increase in unemployment also in Holland and Rumania. In April, 1929, there were 1,772,500 unemployed workers registered in Soviet Russia. Australia continued to face a serious unemployment situation in 1929 as in 1928. The United States suffered a severe economic crisis toward the end of 1929, and starting in November, the number of unemployed began to mount by leaps and bounds. For practically the whole of the post-war period, including 1929, France has gone untouched by the problem. The following table portrays the picture for six nations during the last four years:

Unemployment¹

Year and Month	Unemployed in Receipt of Benefit or Registered					
	Great Britain	Germany	Italy	Austria	Poland	France
1926						
Dec.	1,431,840	1,748,597	181,493	205,350	190,140	17,178
1927						
Mar.	1,187,782	1,121,150	227,947	236,261	205,770	70,381
June	1,069,386	540,703	214,603	168,997	159,365	21,934
Sept.	1,126,267	355,462	305,930	154,291	116,843	11,272
Dec.	1,194,305	1,188,274	414,283	238,075	165,268	13,221
1928						
Mar.	1,127,622	1,010,763	411,785	219,532	167,022	10,473
June	1,273,360	610,687	247,021	140,931	116,719	1,659
Sept.	1,355,011	577,093	268,883	136,984	79,885	562
Dec.	1,333,611	1,702,342	363,551	237,661	126,429	895
1929						
Jan.	1,465,737	2,246,278	461,889	275,405	160,843	1,604
Feb.	1,453,864	2,460,760	489,347	293,365	177,462	3,527
Mar.	1,203,785	1,899,125	293,277	252,318	170,494	1,078
Apr.	1,181,375	1,125,968	257,603	193,296	149,093	706
May	1,177,484	807,750	227,682	154,669	199,877	558
June	1,163,657	722,948	193,325	133,090	105,065	394
July	1,177,507	710,499	201,868	127,471	97,297	399
Aug.	1,198,882	725,757	216,666	124,031	90,094	403
Sept.	1,203,422	748,610	228,831	130,112	81,848	385
Oct.	1,254,480	889,492	297,382	154,576	91,035	396
Nov.	1,325,605	1,200,396	332,833	.....	126,544	577

¹ *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, League of Nations, December, 1929.

AMERICAN ECONOMIC SITUATION

Prosperity Bubble Burst Again.—Despite the panics or depressions of 1900, 1903, the very serious one of 1907, 1910, the severe one of 1914, 1917, 1919, the full-fledged one of 1920, 1924, and 1927, in the present century, not to speak of the crises that preceded in the Nineteenth Century, there was a feeling abroad in the United States these last few years that this country had entered a "new economic era," and was immune from business reverses, that it was destined to have perpetual prosperity. The stock market panic and the decline in industrial activity toward the end of 1929 helped to dispel this illusion.

According to *The Annalist's* index of business activity, the highest point of the year 1929 did not approach that of 1920 or 1923 in the post-war period or 1902, 1907, 1910, and 1912 in pre-war days. It is true, however, that for the first eight months of the past year the combined index was running higher, month for month, than any since 1924. In September, 1929, the decline began to set in. There was a serious fall in the production of steel the following October. And in November there was an almost unsurpassed curtailment of

United States Federal Reserve Board Business Indices¹
(Monthly average, 1923-1925 = 100)

	Production in Basic Month Industries	Factory Employ- ment	Factory Pay Rolls	Building Contracts Awarded	Railroad Car Loadings	Wholesale Trade	Depart- ment Store Sales
1929							
January	117	97.4	100.9	128	104	101	101
February	117	99.7	108.4	119	107	96	96
March	119	101.3	111.1	104	103	97	96
April	122	101.8	111.7	135	111	100	100
May	123	101.6	111.5	130	111	102	107
June	126	101.2	109.2	122	108	96	112
July	124	100.7	104.8	156	108	100	106
August	123	102.0	109.4	107	109	104	112
September	121	103.4	110.5	106	108	99	123
October	117	102.1	110.0	105	104	100	109
November	106	98.2	102.0	105	99	96	107
December	99	94.8	98.7	85	97	89	115
1919	83	107	98	64	84	111	78
1920	87	108	118	63	91	115	94
1921	67	82	77	57	79	87	87
1922	85	90	81	81	86	89	88
1923	101	104	103	84	100	100	98
1924	95	96	96	95	98	98	99
1925	104	100	101	122	103	102	103
1926	108	101	104	130	107	101	106
1927	106	99	102	128	103	97	107
1928	111	97	102	135	103	96	108
1929	118	100	107	117	106	98	110

¹ Federal Reserve Bulletin, February, 1930.

production generally for so brief a period. The combined index declined to 89.6 in December, a point lower than the bottom figure in 1927, but not as low as the worst month of 1921 or 1924. The course of American business during the past year is traced by the following two tables. The indices of the United States Federal Reserve Board include a number of items not contained in the index of *The Annalist*.

The Annalist Index of Business Activity, 1929¹

	Jan.	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Pig iron production.....	109.6	127.4	126.3	119.7	112.9	103.7	91.7
Steel ingot production.....	103.7	130.8	120.2	117.1	104.5	89.1	78.4
Freight car loadings.....	98.2	102.1	101.8	101.7	98.0	92.1	92.3
Electric power production..	103.1	103.9	104.7	102.0	103.0	98.9	97.2
Bituminous coal production	95.7	94.7	92.0	96.0	93.5	91.7	97.3
Automobile production	144.5	146.9	136.9	128.8	113.5	81.9	50.8
Cotton consumption	111.2	104.9	100.4	103.6	108.7	93.8	85.8
Wool consumption	107.3	117.1	117.9	114.6	117.8	97.0	85.7
Boot and shoe production..	103.7	111.1	111.5	111.1	110.6	102.2	92.9
Zinc production	85.1	102.5	105.6	103.7	94.2	87.8	85.1
Combined index	104.1	108.5	106.8	105.8	103.6	94.2	89.6

Stock Market Crash.—Never in all the history of the United States had there been such high stock quotations as during the last three years, and rarely, if ever, had there been such sharp and quick upward gains. At their peak on September 19, 1929, according to the *New York Times* index, stocks had risen 353⅞ percent during last year, 713⅞ percent since the end of 1927, and 123½ percent since the close of 1926. And there had been steady and steep increases in 1925 and 1926. The annual range of market averages for 25 railroad stocks, 25 industrials, and the 50 combined for the last six years, according to *The Annalist*, follows:

Annual Range of Market Averages¹

25 Railroads

	High			Low		
1929	158.71	September	3	107.92	November	13
1928	132.80	November	27	112.84	February	20
1927	124.22	October	4	99.34	January	4
1926	102.60	December	20	81.61	March	20
1925	95.29	December	29	73.50	March	30
1924	81.41	December	18	57.80	January	3

25 Industrials

	High			Low		
1929	469.49	September	19	220.95	November	13
1928	332.58	December	31	233.42	February	20
1927	247.45	September	16	171.40	January	25
1926	186.03	February	13	137.65	March	30
1925	185.36	November	2	128.83	March	30
1924	135.11	December	31	103.26	April	22

¹ *The Annalist*, February 21, 1930.

50 Combined Stocks

	High			Low		
1929	311.90	September	19	164.43	November	13
1928	231.45	December	31	173.13	February	20
1927	185.47	October	4	135.82	January	27
1926	142.35	December	20	109.63	March	30
1925	138.21	December	28	101.16	March	30
1924	107.23	December	31	82.26	April	22

A speculative mania had seized the nation during the so-called Coolidge-Hoover period of prosperity. Hundreds of thousands of individuals from all walks of life entered the market and bought on margin from brokers scattered throughout the country. Investment trusts were organized to trade in stocks. In the first ten months of 1929 they added hundreds of millions of their own securities to the swelling total. Corporations issued common stock in increasing quantity as dividends, and in lieu of or to replace bonds.

Brokers' loans, to support the speculative structure, rose by leaps and bounds. Wealthy individuals, institutions, corporations with surpluses, and foreigners, instead of leaving their money in banks to be lent by them to brokers, advanced funds directly to the latter and made the profit themselves. Thus, between September, 1928, and October 9, 1929, such advances known as "loans to others" increased \$2,000,000,000, while brokers' loans jumped over four billions in the two years preceding the crash. Money was drawn into the market to be played on margin or to be lent to brokers from all parts of the country and the world. The capital resources of the United States and Europe were being drained. Exorbitantly high Wall Street money rates did not serve as checks. The fact that stocks were selling at 15 or 25 times earnings did not act as a restraint. That margins were as high as 50 and 60 percent did not count. The raising of the discount rate by the Federal Reserve Board and the central banks of Europe did not stop the tide.

Liquidation had begun early in October, as inevitably it had to begin some time. The Hatry failure in London, the raising of the Bank of England rate to 6½ percent, the withdrawal of funds by foreigners, words of warning from certain quarters, the decision of the Massachusetts Public Service Commission denying the right of the Boston Edison Company to split its stock, and the general uneasiness started a panic in the third week of October, which culminated on November 13, when stocks went tumbling to their lowest and startling depths of a fateful year. The outsiders and weaker speculators were cleaned out. The New York banks "took over" the wealthier and heavier speculators, however, and saved

them, although they unloaded and forced prices down to the year's lows. The banks still held hundreds of millions of stocks taken over in this way, at the end of the year. What newspaper headlines declared was an attempt to keep prices from crumbling during the panic turned out to be merely a consortium of the most powerful bankers to protect their own interests, regardless of how the market went. After the storm the banks once more controlled the brokers' loan market. "Loans to others" fell precipitously. A re-distribution of wealth had taken place between the "insiders," and the "outsiders," and despite the assurance of President Hoover and Assistant Secretary of Commerce Klein, the country was in the throes of a severe industrial crisis, which was partly responsible for and was intensified by the stock crash.

For the first time in the history of the New York Stock Exchange the volume of stocks dealt in passed the billion mark. Records for all time were smashed in 1929. October 29 was a trading day of 16,410,030 shares. Tickers were hours late. Before 1928 the volume of daily transactions had never run beyond 4,000,000 shares. In 1929 there were 46 days when more than 5,000,000 shares were exchanged. There were three which involved more than 10,000,000. The Stock Exchange was closed on a number of business days and opened for only part of the time on others. On September 1, 1929, the total market value of all the listed stocks on the New York Stock Exchange was officially estimated at \$89,668,276,854. By November 30 there had been a loss of \$26,078,938,031, or more than 29 percent in three months. Prices, however, were still as high in December, 1929, as at the end of 1928.

Automobile Production Reaches Peak.—The spotted prosperity of the United States in the period 1922-1929 was largely due to the extraordinary and steadily rising output of motor vehicles. It was the automobile industry which absorbed so many hundreds of thousands who lost their jobs in various manufacturing lines, transportation, mining, public service, and agriculture. It has been estimated that over 4,000,000 wage earners have become directly or indirectly dependent upon it. Undoubtedly the business activity of the first nine months of 1929 was partly if not mainly dependent upon a production of motor vehicles at an unprecedented rate, exceeding all records month by month. The totals for April and May reached such unheard of figures as 621,910 and 604,691, respectively. By October production had fallen to 380,017. And in November there was a further drop to 217,570,

while in December there was a drastic decline to 119,950. Any considerable falling off in automobile production in the years ahead will surely lessen business activity and seriously increase the volume of unemployment. The production and registration for the period 1920-1929 follows:

Production and Registration of Motor Vehicles, 1920-1929¹

Year	Production			Wholesale Value	Registration
	Total	Passenger Cars	Motor Trucks		
1920	2,227,000	1,906,000	322,000	\$2,232,420,000	9,232,000
1921	1,682,000	1,529,000	153,000	1,261,667,000	10,463,000
1922	2,646,000	2,398,000	248,000	1,793,023,000	12,238,000
1923	4,180,000	3,780,000	400,000	2,592,033,000	15,092,000
1924	3,758,000	3,328,000	410,000	2,367,413,000	17,594,000
1925	4,428,000	3,905,000	523,000	3,015,164,000	19,937,000
1926	3,506,000	3,984,000	522,000	3,214,817,000	22,001,000
1927	3,580,000	3,093,000	487,000	2,700,706,000	23,133,000
1928	4,601,000	4,025,000	577,000	3,162,799,000	24,493,000
1929	5,358,361	4,586,020	754,762	.....	.....

Building and Construction.—Of equal importance, if not greater, than automobile production in the creation of the prosperity that existed in the United States in the period 1922-1928, was the extent of building and construction. There had been a very substantial increase in the volume year by year without any serious breaks. Last year, however, according to the statistics of the F. W. Dodge Corporation, there was a drastic drop in the number of projects, floor space of buildings, and in the value of contracts. For 37 states there was a decline in the latter from \$6,636,186,000 to \$5,754,291,000. The slump in building was worse than in the construction of public works and utilities. Floor space of residential building fell from 567,831,000 square feet to 387,671,300, and in value from \$2,794,317,000 to \$1,915,727,500, between 1928 and 1929. In New York City the value of contracts awarded for 1929 amounted to \$1,233,173,000 against \$1,555,676,000 the previous year. Residential building dropped in the same period from \$863,276,000 to \$547,333,000. Any continued curtailment of building operations in 1930 and subsequent years will of course be an important contributing factor making for unemployment. The value of contracts for public works and utilities fell from \$1,337,931,000 in 1928 to \$1,248,342,000 in 1929, or \$89,589,000. A very substantial increase of expenditures in this class of construction would be needed to offset the building decline. Figures for the years 1925-1929 for the various classes of building and construction follow:

¹ *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1929; New York Times, January 21, 1930.*

Construction Contracts Awarded¹

(37 States)

Year	Total	Resi- dential	Commer- cial	Indus- trial	Public Works and Utilities	Educa- tional	Hospitals and Insti- tutions	All Other
Number of Projects (In thousands)								
1925	173.7	127.7	19.1	5.3	11.0	4.0	.9	5.7
1926	170.7	120.5	20.2	5.8	13.3	4.0	1.0	6.0
1927	184.6	128.4	21.6	5.6	16.3	4.5	1.2	7.0
1928	200.3	139.1	23.6	6.1	19.0	4.8	1.1	6.6
1929	172.2	110.5	24.1	6.7	19.1	4.5	1.2	...
Floor Space of Buildings (In millions of square feet)								
1925	924.0	559.5	160.1	70.3	...	61.3	14.0	58.8
1926	877.1	521.1	151.9	80.8	...	54.6	14.8	53.9
1927	840.9	494.5	141.8	70.9	...	55.5	18.8	59.5
1928	959.0	567.8	159.2	95.4	...	63.2	20.0	53.4
1929	791.6	387.7	161.7	108.8	...	60.6	19.5	...
Value of Contracts (In Millions of Dollars)								
1925	6,007.6	2,747.9	872.4	490.9	901.6	426.4	111.1	457.3
1926	6,384.4	2,674.2	920.9	698.5	1,113.1	381.1	133.1	463.5
1927	6,303.1	2,573.3	932.9	494.1	1,263.8	379.8	162.5	496.7
1928	6,636.2	2,794.3	884.6	635.4	1,337.9	400.9	164.7	418.3
1929	5,754.3	1,915.7	932.7	756.5	1,248.3	381.9	152.2	....

Corporate Earnings.—According to the annual survey of Ernst & Ernst, accountants, covering 1,258 corporations, including industrials, utilities, railroads and financial institutions, net earnings in 1929 averaged 15.28 percent higher than in 1928, which was a very good year, better than 1926, the high point of the post-war period. Industrials increased 18.73 percent above 1928, telephone companies (11 months) 7.26 percent, other public utilities (11 months) 16.56, railroads, 6.72, and financial institutions 35.65 percent. The *New York Journal of Commerce* reported for 1928 total dividend and interest payments at \$5,893,411,000; and dividend payments in 1929 month by month exceeded those of 1928, with stock and extra cash dividends also greater.

Failures and Liabilities.—As compiled by Bradstreet's, the number of failures during 1929 declined 3.2 percent in number but increased 21.4 percent in total liabilities, as against 1928. Failures were 19,703 and liabilities \$628,990,633. Bank suspensions, according to *Dun's Review*, increased 17.5 percent in 1929 as compared with 1928, with a jump of 69 percent in total liabilities. There were 28 failures in the South Atlantic Division, and 11 each in the Central East and Central West sections. At the same time while there was this sharp increase in bank suspensions, there were an unusual number of consolidations of the powerful banks, a tremendous increase in the

¹F. W. Dodge Corporation's Building Statistics.

resources of the merged institutions, rivalling those of England, a tendency to shift from national to state charters, and an extension of chain and branch banking.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Monthly Changes in Employment and Payrolls.—On the basis of the returns made to the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics covering manufacturing, coal mining, metalliferous mining, quarrying and nonmetallic mining, public utilities, trade, hotels, and canning and preserving, there was a gain in employment during every one of the first 9 months of 1929, except for June and July. There was likewise an increase in the payrolls for each of the first 10 months of the year, excepting June and July. There was a drop in employment between September and October of 1.2 percent, between October and November of 3.1 percent, and between November and December, of 2.0 percent. Payrolls fell between October and November 6.8 percent, and between November and December 0.8 percent.

There was a continued decrease in the value of building contracts awarded during 1929, as compared with 1928, except for the months of April and July. Between August and December especially, there was extensive unemployment among building trades workers.

The index of employment on the railroads of the country for the first 11 months of the year showed a steady rise month by month from the very low point of January, 1929, until September. It fell, however, during September and October, and declined seriously in November.

Employment in the United States for the first 9 months of 1929 was better than in the corresponding period of 1927 or 1928. In the last quarter of the year it was as bad as in 1927, if not 1924. The percent of changes in employment and payrolls during 1929 are shown on the following page.

Manufacturing.—The manufacturing industries started the year 1929 with a high rate of employment as compared with 1928, 95.2 as against 91.6, the monthly average for 1926 being 100. They kept adding to their working forces until September, when the index stood at 99.3. Thereafter it began to fall: 1 percent in October, 3.6 in November, and another 3.1 in December. Payrolls declined also, and more drastically: 0.3 in October, 7.0 in November, and 3.3 in December. The general employment index of all industries in the manufacturing group was higher in 1929 than in 1927 or 1928. Industries

Percent of Change in Employment, 1929¹

	Manu- facturing	Coal mining	Anthracite coal	Bitu- minous	Metal- liferous	Public utilities	Trade	Wholesale trade	Retail trade	Hotels	Total
Jan. to Feb....	+2.3	+0.8	+0.3	+1.2	+1.6	 ²	-3.9	-0.9	-4.6	+2.7	+1.9
Feb. to Mar....	+1.2	-3.3	-7.5	-0.8	+2.5	+2.1	+1.5	+0.5	+1.7	+1.1	+0.8
Mar. to Apr....	+0.5	-3.1	+2.8	-6.2	+3.8	+2.6	-0.5	+0.6	-0.7	-1.2	+0.5
Apr. to May....	+0.1	-1.2	+3.0	-3.6	+0.2	+1.1	+1.6	+1.1	+1.8	-1.6	+0.2 ³
May to June....	-0.4	-5.3	-10.4	-1.9	+3.0	+1.2	+0.1	+0.2	+0.1	+1.2	-0.3
June to July....	-0.6	-4.2	-10.4	-0.7	-2.2	+1.2	-2.8	+1.2	-3.8	+1.8	-0.2
July to Aug....	+0.4	+4.5	+9.5	+1.7	+1.7	+1.2	+0.1	+0.9	-0.1	+1.5	+1.1
Aug. to Sept....	+0.7	+5.2	+11.9	+1.6	-1.1	-0.5	+3.5	+0.6	+4.3	+0.2	+0.8
Sept. to Oct....	-1.0	+2.5	+4.1	+1.6	-0.2	-2.8	+3.6	+1.1	+4.2	-2.1	-1.2
Oct. to Nov....	-3.6	+0.7	-1.9	+2.2	+1.1	-0.5	+3.8	 ²	+4.9	-0.6	-3.1
Nov. to Dec....	-3.1	+1.3	+2.9	+0.5	-4.4	-1.0	+14.7	-0.4	+18.3	-2.3	-2.0

Percent of Change in Payrolls, 1929

	Manu- facturing	Coal mining	Anthracite coal	Bitu- minous	Metal- liferous	Public utilities	Trade	Wholesale trade	Retail trade	Hotels	Total
Jan. to Feb....	+7.7	+15.2	+21.2	+9.9	+4.3	-1.3	-3.5	-0.3	-4.5	+3.6	+6.9
Feb. to Mar....	+2.1	-15.3	-25.6	-6.9	+8.0	+0.4	+1.8	+2.2	+1.7	+1.4	+1.0
Mar. to Apr....	+0.7	-12.1	-2.7	-17.8	+5.5	+2.0	-0.3	-0.7	-0.2	-2.7	+0.1
Apr. to May....	+0.2	+6.8	+12.1	+3.0	 ²	+2.0	+1.2	+1.2	+1.2	-1.7	+0.7 ³
May to June....	-1.9	-9.4	-18.4	-2.1	+1.0	+1.0	+1.0	-0.4	+1.5	-0.2	-1.9
June to July....	-4.5	-10.7	-19.8	-4.8	-6.3	+2.1	-1.6	+1.9	-2.7	+1.1	-3.8
July to Aug....	+4.0	+13.0	+21.2	+8.4	+1.1	-0.5	-0.7	-0.5	-0.7	-0.4	+3.9
Aug. to Sept....	+0.5	+15.9	+32.4	+6.2	+1.9	+0.5	+3.9	+3.3	+4.1	+0.8	+1.2
Sept. to Oct....	-0.3	+16.5	+28.9	+8.3	+1.1	+1.0	+2.4	-0.6	+3.4	 ³	+0.4
Oct. to Nov....	-7.0	-11.6	-24.9	-0.8	-0.9	-2.4	+1.6	-0.8	+2.5	-0.4	-6.8
Nov. to Dec....	-3.3	+15.6	+36.5	+2.1	-2.4	+1.9	+11.8	+2.8	+14.6	-0.9	-0.8

¹ Monthly Labor Review, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, April, 1929-February, 1930.² Less than one-tenth of one per cent.³ Quarrying and non-metallic mining, and canning and preserving were added and total change includes these two industrial groups for part of year.

where the employment index for 1929 was lower than in 1927 or 1928, or both, included textiles, lumber, leather, stone, clay and glass, and tobacco. Despite the fact that the number of wage earners engaged in manufacturing has tended to diminish year by year, it is interesting to note that the index of employment for automobiles rose to 111.3 in 1928, and 116.9 in 1929. The indices for all manufacturing industries, month by month between 1923 and 1929, and the index for the different industries in the group, 1923-1929, were:

General Indices of Employment in Manufacturing Industries, January, 1923, to December, 1929¹

(Monthly average, 1926 = 100)

Month	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929
January	106.6	103.8	97.9	100.4	97.3	91.6	95.2
February	108.4	105.1	99.7	101.5	99.0	93.0	97.4
March	110.8	104.9	100.4	102.0	99.5	93.7	98.6
April	110.8	102.8	100.2	101.0	98.6	93.3	99.1
May	110.8	98.8	98.9	99.8	97.6	93.0	99.2
June	110.9	95.6	98.0	99.3	97.0	93.1	98.8
July	109.2	92.3	97.2	97.7	95.0	92.2	98.2
August	108.5	92.5	97.8	98.7	95.1	93.6	98.6
September	108.6	94.3	98.9	100.3	95.8	95.0	99.3
October	108.1	95.6	100.4	100.7	95.3	95.9	98.3
November	107.4	95.5	100.7	99.5	93.5	95.4	94.8
December	105.4	97.3	100.8	98.9	92.6	95.5	91.9
Average	108.8	98.2	99.2	100.0	96.4	93.8	97.5

Index of Employment in Manufacturing Industries, 1923-1929¹

(Monthly average, 1926 = 100)

Industry Group	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929
General index	108.8	98.2	99.2	100.0	96.4	93.8	97.5
November	107.4	95.5	100.7	99.5	93.5	95.4	94.8
December	105.4	97.3	100.8	98.9	92.6	95.4	91.9
Foods and products	111.1	106.4	101.2	100.0	99.4	98.4	99.4
Textiles and products	116.1	102.4	103.7	100.0	101.3	96.3	97.0
Iron and steel and products	108.5	93.8	95.0	100.0	93.2	91.5	98.9
Lumber and products	110.0	104.4	102.5	100.0	91.9	87.8	87.9
Leather and products	110.7	100.3	101.9	100.0	97.9	92.8	92.8
Paper and printing	96.5	96.7	97.3	100.0	100.1	99.2	101.3
Chemicals and products	101.8	93.1	95.8	100.0	96.6	93.4	99.4
Stone, clay and glass	100.2	97.0	97.9	100.0	94.5	89.7	86.6
Metals, other than iron and steel	102.6	95.1	99.2	100.0	92.9	92.8	97.6
Tobacco products	116.9	109.8	107.5	100.0	98.1	98.0	93.6
Vehicles for land transportation	109.6	97.2	99.8	100.0	90.8	95.8	99.8
Automobiles	93.0	87.0	99.0	100.0	91.2	111.3	116.9
October							103.7
November							85.7
December							81.4
Miscellaneous industries	103.3	90.7	94.6	100.0	99.5	91.6	110.7

¹ *Monthly Labor Review*, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, February, 1930.

Railroads.—The reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission cover close to 1¾ millions employees on Class I railroads. Although the index of employment in January, 1929, was 88.2, the lowest in any month since 1923, there was a steady improvement until September. The year ended—with allowance for a further fall in December—at a higher point than in 1928. But that year was the lowest in the last seven, as indicated by the following figures for 1923-1929 (11 months):

Index of Employment on Class I Steam Railroads in the United States, January, 1923, to November, 1929¹
(Monthly average, 1926 = 100)

Month	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929
January	98.3	96.9	95.6	95.8	95.5	89.3	88.2
February	98.6	97.0	95.4	96.0	95.3	89.0	88.9
March	100.5	97.4	95.2	96.7	95.8	89.9	90.1
April	102.0	98.9	96.6	98.9	97.4	91.7	92.2
May	105.0	99.2	97.8	100.2	99.4	94.5	94.9
June	107.1	98.0	98.6	101.6	100.9	95.9	96.1
July	108.2	98.1	99.4	102.9	101.0	95.6	96.6
August	109.4	99.0	99.7	102.7	99.5	95.7	97.4
September	107.8	99.7	99.9	102.8	99.1	95.3	96.8
October	107.3	100.8	100.7	103.4	98.9	95.3	96.9
November	105.2	99.0	99.1	101.2	95.7	92.9	93.0
December	99.4	96.0	97.1	98.2	91.9	89.7	....
Average	104.1	98.3	97.9	100.0	97.5	92.9	....

Coal Mining.—The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics did not begin to collect employment figures for coal mining until the fall of 1928. The following data show the changes for the last three months of 1928 and 1929:

Percent of Change in Employment and Payrolls in Coal Mining²

	Employment			Payrolls		
	Sept. to Oct.	Oct. to Nov.	Nov. to Dec.	Sept. to Oct.	Oct. to Nov.	Nov. to Dec.
Anthracite						
1928.....	+5.8	+1.4	—0.9	+21.3	—6.2	+11.5
1929.....	+4.1	—1.9	+2.9	+28.9	—24.9	+36.5
Bituminous						
1928.....	+6.0	+4.8	—0.9	+13.5	+3.3	—2.4
1929.....	+1.6	+2.2	+0.5	+8.3	—0.8	+2.1

According to the bureau of information of the anthracite operators, "the demand for anthracite has become . . . largely dependent upon weather conditions." Due to higher temperatures in 1929 the production for the first 11 months fell off 1,395,000 tons, as compared with the same period of 1928. In

¹ *Monthly Labor Review*, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, February, 1930.

² *Monthly Labor Review*, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, December, 1928; January-February, 1929; December, 1929, and January-February, 1930.

December, 1929, however, as against a decline in employment in anthracite mining the year before for the same month, there was an increase, and the amount of payroll more than tripled. The heavy break in November offset the improvement, however.

The index of production of minerals of the United States Federal Reserve Board shows an annual index for bituminous coal for 1929 of 100, as against 94 for 1928. The monthly record compares as follows:

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
1928	92	92	95	91	93	91	93	91	94	99	99	97
1929	103	109	89	100	102	100	101	97	101	101	96	102

As a result of the business slump in the last three months of the past year the increases of employment in bituminous coal mining were much below those of 1928 for the same period. And payrolls also declined correspondingly. On the basis of output the year 1929 was better than 1928 and gave more employment.

Building.—Index numbers based on value of contracts, as reported by the United States Federal Reserve Board, showed a sharp decline in 1929. With the average for 1923-1925 as 100, and without seasonal adjustment, the index figure stood at 122 in 1925, 130 in 1926, 128 in 1927, 135 in 1928, and 117 in 1929. A month by month comparison for the last three years follows:

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
1927.....	94	96	151	147	135	154	130	135	127	137	114	116
1928.....	104	113	144	157	163	158	142	126	143	145	115	105
1929.....	100	88	118	156	143	133	159	119	108	109	95	77

William J. McSorley, in his presidential report to the Toronto (1929) convention of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, voiced a common belief that the slump in the building industry was

caused by many of the banks, corporations, building and loan associations, and even religious institutions and associations sending their surplus funds into the field of brokerage loans for the purpose of promoting stock market gambling. . . . The amount of money taken out of the local channels of investment and used for brokerage loans is astounding . . . there is no money to loan by local banks throughout the country for building purposes, or if there is any to loan, it is at such prohibited rates of interest that all prospective builders are discouraged at the outset.

Notwithstanding the panic of October-November, however, and a drop in brokers' loans of over four billions of dollars, building contracts fell to the lowest point in years in December, 1929. And according to the review of the F. W. Dodge

Corporation, there was only an increase of two percent over this low point in January, 1930, which was 21 percent under January, 1929. For the building trades workers the year 1929 was the worst in the last five, and unemployment during the winter of 1929-1930 was particularly severe among them.

Unemployment Surveys.—The attendance officers of the bureau of compulsory education in cooperation with the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce made a survey of unemployment in Philadelphia in April, 1929. They covered 58,866 wage earners in 31,551 families, and discovered 7.8 unable to find work, with an additional 2.6 percent idle on account of sickness or from other causes. On the basis of the estimated number of persons usually employed, it was declared that 72,700 wage earners were unable to secure jobs. Over three-quarters of the unemployed had been without regular work for more than a month, over half for more than three months, and over a quarter for more than six months. Clothing and textiles led with 15 percent of the total unemployed, the building trades followed, with 12.5 percent, machinists and metal workers, 8.8 percent, laborers, 6.7, domestic and personal service, 6.4, and office help, 5.7 percent of all the unemployed.

Under the auspices of the New York Department of Labor a study of unemployment in Buffalo was made in November, 1929, by Fred C. and Frederick E. Croxton. It covered 15,164 persons, of whom 1,509 were found totally unemployed, for all causes combined, and 981 on part-time work, or 16.4 percent of the whole group idle or partly employed. Among the causes for unemployment among the men 54.5 percent was due to inability to find work, 21.2 percent to sickness or injury, and 18.7 percent to old age or retirement. Half of all those out of work had been idle for 10 weeks or more.

Census of Unemployment.—Only after considerable pressure was put on Congress did it at the last moment include the provision for a census of unemployment in the act authorizing the taking of the Census of 1930. It will be possible to show the number of unemployed at any given time thereafter, once the census figures become available. Hitherto, there have been no figures on unemployment. During periods of cyclical depression, estimates and guesses have taken the place of authoritative data.

Of these estimates, the one by Dr. Leo Wolman, covering the years 1920 to 1927 inclusive, is perhaps the most valuable.

He gives minimum unemployment only, thus allowing for much or little above his figures. The minimum total unemployed ranged from 1,401,000 in 1920, to 4,270,000 in 1921, with 2,315,000 in 1924, and 2,055,000 in 1927. According to Dr. Wolman's estimate, there were 2½ millions unemployed in the manufacturing industries in 1921. The shifts in the 8-year period were:

Estimated Average Minimum Volume of Unemployment, 1920-1927¹

(In thousands)						
Year	Total employees at- tached to non-agri- cultural pursuits.	Minimum total un- employed	Manufacturing	Construction	Transportation and communication	Mines, quarries, oil wells
1920.....	27,558	1,401	487	230	170	274
1921.....	27,989	4,270	2,554	248	598	470
1922.....	28,505	3,441	1,761	230	580	520
1923.....	29,293	1,532	432	220	251	329
1924.....	30,234	2,315	924	350	340	326
1925.....	30,941	1,775	578	345	184	308
1926.....	31,808	1,669	552	280	144	323
1927.....	32,695	2,055	727	422	152	380
						374

Period of Unemployment.—Under the direction of Dr. Isador Lubin of the Institute of Economics of the Brookings Institution, who assisted the Committee on Education and Labor of the United States Senate in its hearings and study of unemployment, December, 1928-February, 1929 (Report No. 2072), an investigation was made in the summer of 1928 to determine the extent to which discharged workers were being absorbed in industry. Of the 754 interviewed it was found that of those who had obtained permanent jobs, over 50 percent had been out of work for more than three months, and nearly 25 percent for six months and more. But only 410 of the 754 discharged workers had secured permanent work when seen. Of the 344 who had not, about 40 percent had already had six months or more of idleness. Of the permanently re-employed, 18.8 percent were earning more at their new jobs; 27.1 percent about the same wages; and 48 percent were getting less than before. There were numerous shifts to industries and occupations new to the workers. The

¹Recent Economic Changes, vol. II, p. 478. Estimate by Leo Wolman.

study definitely showed that absorption in American industry was a relatively slow process.

A work history was compiled of 370 men's clothing cutters, who had lost their jobs in Chicago, and by the early summer of 1928 had been out of them for at least a year and half. Mr. Robert J. Myers of Grinnell College, who did the study, found the following redistribution:

Number and Percent of Ex-Cutters Engaged in Specified Occupations in Early Summer of 1928¹

Occupation	Num- ber	Per- cent of total	Occupation	Num- ber	Per- cent of total
Bartenders and bootleggers	5	1.3	Salesmen:		
Caretakers, messengers, etc.	15	4.0	Commission	10	2.7
Cutters and allied trades..	75	20.3	Salaried or owning.....	29	7.9
Drivers, truckers, etc.....	39	10.5	Manner of payment un- known	15	4.0
Factory and industrial wkrs.	17	4.6	Skilled workmen:		
Farmers	1	.3	Bakers	1	.3
Firemen	1	.3	Barbers	3	.8
Grocers, confectioners, etc.	26	7.0	Building tradesmen ...	13	3.6
Laborers	8	2.2	Machinists	3	.8
Mailmen	1	.3	Printers and bookbind- ers	2	.5
Office wkrs. and executives	6	1.6	Miscellaneous	2	.5
Politicians	10	2.7	Tailors and cleaners.....	17	4.6
Professional men	7	1.9	Dead, retired, ill, etc....	16	4.3
Real estate and insur. agts.	22	5.9	Unemployed, seeking work	26	7.0

In their new jobs, 84 ex-cutters or 30.4 percent reported earnings above the earlier level; 128 or 46.4 percent below; and 64 or 23.2 percent the same income. Exactly one-third of the 240 covered on this point had lost six months or more—31 more than 12 months—before securing other regular employment.

The results of these two studies on the absorption of discharged workers in American industry are very significant in view of the increasing amount of unemployment caused by technological changes. Robert B. Warren of Case, Pomerooy & Co., New York City, told the American Statistical Association on December 30, 1929, that he foresaw a more or less chronic state of industrial unemployment in the next ten-year period, due to the rationalization of industry.

President Hoover's Conferences.—On November 15, 1929, President Hoover issued a statement that he was calling conferences of representatives of business, labor and agriculture, with a view toward

the organizing and coordinating of a forward movement of business through the revival of construction activities, the stim-

¹*Monthly Labor Review*, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, October, 1929.

ulation of exports and of other legitimate business expansion, especially to take such action in concert with the use of our new powers to assist agriculture.

Following the meeting on November 21, with the heads of the American Federation of Labor and the Railroad Brotherhoods, the president stated that labor's spokesmen had urged that "no movements beyond those already in negotiation should be initiated for increase of wages, and that every cooperation should be given by labor to industry in the handling of its problems." He explained that the purpose of this declaration was to maintain stability of employment.

About 400 key business men met in Washington on December 5. They authorized the president to say that the employers would not start any wage-reduction movements. The conference created an executive committee to "assist in expansion of construction and maintenance of employment." The reports submitted to this National Business Survey Conference indicated some promises of increased expenditures for 1930, but many of them were frankly pessimistic about the immediate future. The federal government proceeded at once to reduce taxes for the wealthy to the extent of \$160,000,000, while the president called on state, county, and municipal governments to speed up and increase construction. In connection with any enlargement of expenditures by public authorities, Dr. Leo Wolman, writing in December, 1929, said:

the essence of a successful program of this nature is speed. Of much greater importance than the increase in the total volume of construction during the year 1930 is the rate at which such construction will proceed during the next months. Once factories are shut down and payrolls reduced, there are set in operation cumulative forces which are much harder to control and to arrest. Effective and large-scale acceleration of public construction throughout the country requires the whole-hearted cooperation of thousands of public officials and often the scrapping of a cumbrous but traditional executive procedure.

WAGES

Manufacturing.—There are no comprehensive wage statistics covering all manufacturing industries in the United States from year to year. From the limited data at hand it would seem that money wages rose slightly in 1929, at least for the first nine months. Average weekly earnings in representative factories in New York State were \$29.44 in 1928, and \$29.99 in 1929. November, 1928, however, had an average wage of \$29.62, as compared with \$29.54 in November, 1929, December, 1928, \$30.12, December, 1929, \$29.75. Certain unionized skilled men advanced their rates, for the country as

a whole. Organized printing tradesmen raised their pay from \$1.036 an hour in 1928 to 1.049 in 1929. Unskilled and unorganized laborers, however, were paid less in several industries in 1929 than in 1928. Their hourly entrance rates in the automobile industry stood at \$0.572 in 1928, against .499 in 1929; .394 in brick, tile, and terra cotta in 1928, and .378 in 1929; .422 in slaughtering and meatpacking in 1928, and .420 in 1929. There were a number of slight increases.

Average Hours and Earnings in the Iron and Steel Industry, 1924-1929¹

<i>Department and year</i>	<i>Full-time hours per week</i>	<i>Earnings per hour</i>	<i>Full-time earnings per week</i>
Blast Furnaces:			
1924.....	59.7	.520	\$31.04
1926.....	59.8	.517	30.92
1929.....	60.7	.528	32.05
Bessemer Converters:			
1924.....	52.3	.624	32.64
1926.....	52.6	.641	33.72
1929.....	53.7	.643	34.53
Open-hearth Furnaces:			
1924.....	58.0	.635	36.83
1926.....	57.1	.677	38.66
1929.....	57.7	.714	41.20
Puddling Mills:			
1924.....	55.7	.721	40.16
1926.....	52.1	.657	34.23
1929.....	50.3	.686	34.51
Blooming Mills:			
1924.....	54.6	.613	33.47
1926.....	54.2	.627	33.98
1929.....	55.0	.666	36.63
Plate Mills:			
1924.....	57.2	.562	32.15
1926.....	55.8	.606	33.81
1929.....	58.0	.639	37.06
Bar Mills:			
1924.....	55.6	.585	32.53
1926.....	54.7	.591	32.33
1929.....	55.6	.625	34.75
Standard-rail Mills:			
1924.....	57.4	.573	32.89
1926.....	55.5	.595	33.02
1929.....	56.0	.628	35.17
Sheet Mills:			
1924.....	50.2	.809	40.61
1926.....	48.9	.759	37.12
1929.....	48.9	.793	38.78
Tin-plate Mills:			
1924.....	48.8	.795	38.80
1926.....	48.1	.704	33.86
1929.....	47.4	.732	34.70
All departments combined:			
1924.....	55.2	.644	35.22
1926.....	54.4	.637	34.41
1929.....	54.6	.674	36.48

¹Monthly Labor Review, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, September-November, 1929.

Iron and Steel.—In the first half of March, 1929, the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics made a survey of wages and hours in selected plants of ten departments of the iron and steel industry. The earnings per hour and week were found to be in excess of those in 1924 and 1926 when the previous studies had been made. There had been a drop between 1924 and 1926, however, which was not made up by 1929 in the puddling mills, sheet, and tin-plate mills. For all departments combined, full-time earnings per week were \$35.22 in 1924, \$34.41 in 1926, and \$36.48 in 1929.

Average Hourly and Weekly Wages of Male Automobile Workers, 1925 and 1928, By Occupations¹

Occupation	Number of wage earners		Average earnings per hour		Average full-time earnings per week	
	1925	1928	1925	1928	1925	1928
Assemblers, axle	1,922	2,703	\$0.729	\$0.755	\$36.67	\$37.90
Assemblers, body frame	3,091	3,256	.739	.799	37.54	40.27
Assemblers, chassis . .	2,902	4,593	.694	.758	34.63	37.14
Assemblers, final . . .	7,400	8,198	.731	.774	36.62	38.78
Assemblers, frame . . .	1,115	1,125	.753	.770	37.65	38.12
Assemblers, motor . . .	4,851	4,859	.747	.762	37.20	38.18
Automatic operators..	2,622	1,842	.764	.806	39.97	39.49
Bench hands, machine shop	2,439	2,178	.716	.724	35.94	36.42
Blacksmiths	1,040	850	.957	.973	47.47	47.58
Drill-press operators..	8,688	8,488	.712	.734	35.81	36.41
Forge-shop helpers . . .	1,661	1,833	.753	.735	38.40	37.26
Gear-cutter operators..	1,331	1,121	.746	.760	37.35	37.62
Grinding machine operators	5,422	5,419	.765	.792	38.33	38.65
Helpers	3,019	4,105	.603	.621	30.69	29.87
Inspectors	7,676	7,579	.682	.723	34.17	35.72
Laborers	16,592	15,535	.570	.589	28.73	29.10
Lathe operators	6,260	5,553	.762	.789	38.10	38.66
Machinists	3,604	3,465	.806	.844	40.30	40.43
Metal finishers	3,397	4,606	.851	.893	43.06	45.10
Metal panelers	1,655	1,947	.770	.830	39.66	41.33
Milling-machine operators	3,549	3,231	.737	.764	37.14	37.82
Painters, general . . .	1,934	2,155	.776	.770	39.27	39.04
Paint sprayers	993	1,581	.850	.824	42.50	41.53
Polishers and buffers..	1,095	2,030	.908	.936	45.76	46.05
Punch-press operators..	4,416	4,268	.718	.746	35.61	35.73
Sanders and rubbers..	1,937	2,716	.843	.807	42.57	40.11
Sheet-metal workers..	3,111	2,441	.783	.807	39.38	40.75
Tool and die makers..	3,689	3,523	.875	.919	43.93	44.85
Top builders	4,415	4,090	.808	.840	40.88	41.66
Woodworking machine operators	1,942	1,815	.674	.729	34.51	36.81
All occupations	140,930	149,828	\$0.729	\$0.756	\$36.67	\$37.35
Females	3,432	4,134	.467	.487	23.40	24.50

¹ Monthly Labor Review, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, May, 1929.

Automobiles.—Over a third of the automobile workers of the country were covered in a wage study by the United States Bureau in 1928. Average full-time earnings per week for all occupations for males were \$37.35, for females, \$24.50. Laborers received when they were working—and the automobile industry is one of the least stable of any in the country—\$29.10, dingmen, the highest paid, \$57.53. The hourly and weekly earnings for the occupations with 1,000 or more in them, for 1925 and 1928 are given above.

Foundry and Machine Shop Workers.—A comparative study of the wages of workers in foundries and machine shops showed that they had declined in the former between 1927 and 1929, and increased in the latter:

**Foundry and Machine Shop Workers' Average Wages,
1923-1929¹**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Wages per hour</i>	<i>Hours per week</i>	<i>Wages per week</i>
Foundries:			
1923.....	\$0.558	52.4	\$29.24
1925.....	.610	51.5	31.42
1927.....	.624	51.1	31.89
1929.....	.624	51.0	31.82
Machine shops:			
1923.....	.559	50.8	28.40
1925.....	.602	50.4	30.34
1927.....	.625	50.1	31.31
1929.....	.638	50.3	32.09

Union Rates.—Union hourly wage scales for eight trades were higher in 1929 than 1928, \$1.204, as against \$1.195. In 1924 they were \$1.031.

Unionists' Average Hourly Wages, 1924, 1928-1929²

<i>Trade Group</i>	<i>1924</i>	<i>1928</i>	<i>1929</i>
Bakers	\$0.946	\$0.954	\$0.979
Building-trades workers	1.154	1.330	1.352
Chauffeurs, teamsters and drivers.....	.622	.712	.715
Granite and stone cutters.....	1.169	1.335	1.369
Laundry workers	.414	.447	.458
Linemen	.932	1.007	1.019
Longshoremen	.823	.858	.863
Printing and publishing:			
Book and job	.965	1.036	1.049
Newspaper	1.111	1.220	1.241
Average, all trades	1.031³	1.195	1.204

¹ *Monthly Labor Review*, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, February, 1930.

² *Union Scale of Wages and Hours of Labor*, May 15, 1924; *Monthly Labor Review*, December, 1929, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics.

³ Metal trades, millworkers and motormen and conductors were included in 1924.

Common Laborers.—Average hourly entrance rates for common labor in 1929 were \$0.437, compared with .449 in 1928, and .426 in 1926:

Unskilled Laborers' Hourly Entrance Rates, 1926-1929¹

<i>Industry</i>			<i>Industry</i>		
	1926	1929		1926	1929
Automobile			Lumber (saw mills)		
Low	\$0.333	\$0.320	Low	\$0.150	\$0.175
High	.625	.650	High	.625	.625
Average	.461	.499	Average	.336	.320
Brick, tile, terra cotta			Paper and pulp		
Low	.175	.185	Low	.225	.200
High	.555	.530	High	.563	.550
Average	.407	.378	Average	.428	.440
Cement			Petroleum refining		
Low	.250	.250	Low	.300	.250
High	.560	.560	High	.620	.620
Average	.401	.378	Average	.479	.457
Electrical apparatus			Slaughtering, packing		
Low	.310	.350	Low	.375	.275
High	.520	.550	High	.500	.500
Average	.431	.459	Average	.415	.420
Foundry, mach. shop			Public utilities		
Low	.175	.175	Low	.225	.150
High	.560	.560	High	.600	.640
Average	.371	.398	Average	.420	.428
Iron, steel			General contracting		
Low	.200	.200	Low	.194	.150
High	.500	.550	High	.938	1.188
Average	.427	.425	Average	.471	.483
Leather			Total		
Low	.200	.250	Low	\$0.150	\$0.150
High	.542	.542	High	.938	1.188
Average	.409	.422	Average	.426	.437

Farm Hands.—There was practically no change between 1928 and 1929 in the average wage rates of farm laborers:

Farm Hands' Average Wage Rates, 1923-1929²

<i>Year or Month</i>	<i>—By the Month—</i>		<i>—By the Day—</i>	
	<i>With Board</i>	<i>Without Board</i>	<i>With Board</i>	<i>Without Board</i>
1923	\$33.09	\$46.74	\$1.91	\$2.45
1924	33.34	47.22	1.88	2.44
1925	33.88	47.80	1.89	2.46
1926	34.86	48.86	1.91	2.49
1927	34.58	48.63	1.90	2.46
1928	34.66	48.65	1.88	2.43
January	32.50	46.75	1.76	2.34
April	34.46	48.44	1.78	2.34
July	35.39	49.32	1.84	2.39
October	35.75	49.60	1.96	2.51
1929:				
January	33.04	47.24	1.78	2.34
April	34.68	49.00	1.79	2.34
July	36.08	50.53	1.89	2.43
October	35.90	50.00	1.92	2.46

¹ *Monthly Labor Review*, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, November, 1929.

² *Monthly Labor Review*, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, November, 1926; October, 1928; October, 1929.

Bituminous Miners.—There were striking reductions in average earnings of bituminous coal miners between 1926 and 1929. Hand loaders were receiving in the half-month pay period, when they were fortunate to have work, \$57.48

**Average Earnings of Bituminous Miners, 1926-1929,
By Specified Occupations and States¹**

Occupation and State	Year	Number of employees	Per hour based on Time at face including lunch		Average earnings	
			Time in mine	In half month pay period	Per start	
Loaders, hand:						
Alabama	1926	3,070	\$0.478	\$0.436	\$35.47	\$4.16
	1929	3,137	.388	.353	28.08	3.43
Illinois	1926	11,511	1.078	.976	83.07	8.80
	1929	9,671	.857	.791	64.12	7.03
Pennsylvania ...	1926	19,065	.711	.651	55.94	5.75
	1929	18,439	.601	.542	45.14	4.88
West Virginia...	1926	10,897	.776	.710	52.05	5.51
	1929	17,216	.653	.591	45.06	4.99
Total	1926	66,414	\$0.779	\$0.715	\$57.48	\$6.12
	1929	70,853	.648	.592	45.78	5.15
Miners, hand or pick:						
Alabama	1926	1,537	.540	.486	44.12	4.53
	1929	1,120	.531	.480	40.58	4.76
Illinois	1926	3,155	.923	.850	71.47	7.32
	1929	2,488	.716	.656	63.40	5.63
Pennsylvania ...	1926	8,766	.768	.696	62.39	6.27
	1929	9,123	.657	.586	52.91	5.35
West Virginia...	1926	2,062	.794	.730	55.21	5.65
	1929	1,697	.669	.612	45.83	5.10
Total	1926	20,594	\$0.783	\$0.715	\$60.31	\$6.18
	1929	19,666	.673	.609	50.29	5.33
Miners, machine (cutters):						
Alabama	1926	149	.911	.832	83.61	8.17
	1929	129	.742	.680	64.65	6.92
Illinois	1926	1,326	1.501	1.358	111.89	11.57
	1929	1,122	1.139	1.052	90.29	9.10
Pennsylvania ...	1926	1,800	1.133	1.041	106.70	9.75
	1929	1,568	.978	.887	87.67	8.50
West Virginia ..	1926	825	1.200	1.108	107.39	10.05
	1929	1,214	1.062	.976	97.77	9.54
Total	1926	6,055	\$1.195	\$1.101	\$102.68	\$9.93
	1929	5,937	1.018	.936	86.52	8.68
Miners and loaders:						
Alabama	1929	4,740	.453	.411	33.58	4.03
Illinois	1929	14,104	.867	.799	67.55	7.04
Kentucky	1929	11,037	.634	.584	43.24	5.15
Pennsylvania ...	1929	29,665	.645	.580	50.13	5.27
West Virginia...	1929	20,421	.689	.626	48.77	5.35
Total	1929	99,405	\$0.687	\$0.626	\$49.85	\$5.50

¹ *Monthly Labor Review*, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, September, 1929.

in 1926, as against \$45.78 in 1929; while hand or pick miners were getting \$60.31 for the same period in 1926, as against \$50.29 in 1929.

Railroad Transportation.—The awards of the United States Board of Mediation for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1929, and the collective agreements entered into by union men and the companies, showed a general rise in wages for organized transportation workers in the past year. The annual summaries of the Interstate Commerce Commission indicated an average daily rate for all railroad workers in 1928 of \$8.46 and an hourly rate of \$0.682, as against \$8.25 and \$0.640 in 1927. There was no increase for the 207,174 section laborers, who were still paid at the hourly rate of \$0.358, however.

State Differences.—The average half-month wages for miners and loaders in 11 bituminous coal states were \$49.85 in 1929. But they were only \$33.58 in Alabama, \$43.24 in Kentucky, and \$48.77 in West Virginia. In unionized Illinois they were \$67.55.

For the important cotton-goods manufacturing states, average full-time weekly wages in 1928 stood at \$17.30; for males \$18.60, and for females, \$15.66. Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, Rhode Island, and Virginia, however, were above the average, while Alabama, Georgia, North and South Carolina were below. Wages were higher in 1926 than in 1928 in the northern states, but lower in 1926 than in 1928 in the southern states.

Average Weekly Earnings in Representative New York State Factories, 1916-1929¹

Year	Average	Year	Average	Year	Average
1916.....	\$14.43	1928.....	\$29.44	1929.....	\$29.99
1917.....	16.37				
1918.....	20.35	January	29.21	January	29.71
1919.....	23.50	February	29.16	February	29.99
1920.....	28.15	March	29.64	March	30.35
1921.....	25.72	April	28.79	April	30.07
1922.....	25.04	May	29.19	May	30.03
1923.....	27.24	June	29.48	June	30.02
1924.....	27.68	July	29.15	July	29.80
1925.....	28.26	August	29.38	August	30.09
1926.....	29.02	September	29.72	September	30.47
1927.....	29.30	October	29.78	October	30.08
1928.....	29.44	November	29.62	November	29.54
1929.....	29.99	December	30.12	December	29.75

¹The *Industrial Bulletin*, Industrial Commissioner of New York State, January, 1930. The average weekly earnings are obtained by dividing the total weekly payroll by the total number of employes on the payroll for given week.

Average Hourly and Weekly Wages in Cotton-Goods Manufacturing, 1926 and 1928, By State and Sex¹

State and sex	Number of employees		Average earnings per hour		Average full-time earnings per week	
	1926	1928	1926	1928	1926	1928
Alabama:						
Male	3,129	3,185	\$0.265	\$0.265	\$14.55	\$14.58
Female	2,223	2,426	.209	.216	11.43	11.88
Total	5,352	5,611	.242	.244	13.26	13.42
Connecticut:						
Male	1,566	1,645	.419	.423	21.33	21.53
Female	1,352	1,464	.348	.352	17.61	17.85
Total	2,918	3,109	.386	.391	19.61	19.86
Georgia:						
Male	5,988	6,679	.268	.281	15.28	15.79
Female	3,777	4,598	.220	.228	12.52	12.77
Total	9,765	11,277	.250	.260	14.25	14.59
Maine:						
Male	1,482	1,163	.415	.370	22.41	20.02
Female	1,755	1,477	.327	.291	17.59	15.71
Total	3,237	2,640	.369	.327	19.89	17.69
Massachusetts:						
Male	8,611	9,223	.450	.427	22.05	21.22
Female	8,694	9,112	.374	.353	17.95	16.91
Total	17,305	18,335	.413	.392	20.03	19.13
New Hampshire:						
Male	2,110	1,969	.468	.455	25.27	24.52
Female	2,163	2,018	.390	.381	20.90	20.31
Total	4,273	3,987	.429	.419	23.08	22.46
New York:						
Male	978	945	.446	.439	22.12	21.34
Female	1,216	1,156	.383	.375	18.65	18.15
Total	2,194	2,101	.412	.404	20.23	19.59
North Carolina:						
Male	11,362	12,561	.308	.312	17.19	17.41
Female	6,259	6,949	.252	.262	14.06	14.62
Total	17,621	19,510	.289	.295	16.13	16.46
Rhode Island:						
Male	2,396	2,990	.440	.443	22.13	23.08
Female	2,375	2,764	.372	.373	18.64	19.47
Total	4,771	5,754	.407	.410	20.43	21.40
South Carolina:						
Male	7,655	8,116	.272	.281	15.01	15.46
Female	4,976	5,254	.219	.224	12.05	12.32
Total	12,631	13,370	.252	.260	13.89	14.30
Virginia:						
Male	1,274	1,385	.332	.345	18.33	19.04
Female	888	927	.262	.272	14.46	14.99
Total	2,162	2,312	.303	.316	16.73	17.41
All States:						
Male	46,879	49,861	.347	.345	18.67	18.60
Female	36,103	38,145	.301	.296	15.89	15.66
Total	82,982	88,006	.328	.324	17.48	17.30

Average weekly earnings of workers over 16 years of age in Tennessee ranged from \$15.69 for males in cigars, tobacco, and snuff, to \$30.35 for telephone and telegraph employes. In New York States average weekly earnings in September, 1929, ranged from \$16.60 for both males and females working on shirts and collars, to \$45.51 for newspaper printing tradesmen. Wages were very much higher in the northern state.

¹*Wages and Hours of Labor in Cotton-Goods Manufacturing, 1910-1928, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics.*

Average Weekly Earnings in New York State Factories¹

Industry	Sept. 1924	Sept. 1925	Sept. 1926	Sept. 1927	Sept. 1928	Sept. 1929
Stone, clay, and glass.....	\$28.93	\$30.00	\$31.21	\$31.15	\$30.76	\$31.04
Lime, cement, plaster....	32.39	32.88	34.26	33.46	32.69	30.93
Brick, tile, pottery.....	25.03	25.70	26.71	26.43	26.25	26.13
Glass	28.42	28.42	28.86	28.58	28.72	29.79
Metals and machinery	30.02	30.40	31.39	31.39	32.09	32.62
Brass, copper, aluminum..	27.74	27.99	29.17	29.16	30.11	29.68
Iron and steel	32.12	32.74	34.90	33.36	35.45	35.23
Sheet metal, hardware....	27.47	28.32	28.79	28.71	29.80	30.28
Firearms, tools, cutlery...	25.96	26.58	26.79	27.69	26.77	27.91
Cooking, ventil. appliances.	32.12	30.23	33.20	33.21	32.38	34.01
Mach'y, elec. appliances...	30.53	30.63	31.07	31.77	32.47	33.81
Elec. mach. and appls....	30.50	31.33	31.73	32.70	33.21	35.23
Foundries, mach. shops..	31.20	30.83	31.54	32.07	33.19	33.80
Automobiles and parts....	32.85	33.35	34.19	33.65	35.26	31.06
R. R. equipment, repair...	31.30	31.54	32.83	32.50	32.75	34.02
Locomotive equipment...	32.28	31.43	33.89	31.81	31.73	33.61
Railway repair shops....	30.77	31.59	32.20	32.89	33.21	34.31
Instruments, appliances ..	26.04	26.91	28.17	28.05	28.39	29.04
Wood manufactures	28.41	28.81	29.68	29.81	29.53	30.56
Saw and planing mills....	28.34	29.14	29.97	31.12	31.40	31.97
Furniture, cabinet work...	28.23	29.63	29.97	29.57	30.48	32.29
Pianos, musical instr....	31.26	30.49	31.88	31.67	31.30	31.88
Misc. wood, etc.	24.66	25.01	26.21	26.72	23.96	25.01
Furs, leather, rubber.....	26.15	26.24	27.82	28.28	27.83	28.33
Shoes	25.79	25.88	27.03	27.35	26.85	27.49
Chemicals, oils, paints....	28.54	28.64	29.28	30.05	30.21	30.92
Drugs, chemicals	28.25	27.17	29.34	29.94	30.11	30.86
Oil products	28.39	28.30	28.52	29.91	29.83	30.81
Miscellaneous chemicals...	29.37	30.60	30.51	30.72	31.13	31.47
Pulp and paper	28.08	28.88	29.05	28.35	28.49	29.59
Printing and paper goods...	33.15	34.52	35.42	36.02	36.98	38.01
Misc. paper goods	25.85	27.08	25.93	27.09	25.27	26.19
Printing, bookmaking	35.95	37.29	38.76	39.32	40.41	41.30
Newspapers	39.61	42.41	43.15	45.22	44.81	45.51
Book and job	35.45	36.27	37.95	37.90	39.50	40.27
Textiles	22.03	22.19	23.08	23.22	22.72	23.23
Silk, silk goods	19.73	21.02	20.72	21.87	22.44	22.20
Wool manufactures	24.83	25.54	26.85	27.33	25.00	26.07
Carpets, rugs	25.15	26.54	27.77	28.30	25.43	26.64
Cotton goods	21.99	20.15	21.76	20.16	21.30	20.93
Knit goods	18.37	18.08	19.02	18.90	17.99	19.07
Other textiles	23.46	23.51	24.31	24.64	25.04	24.98
Clothing and millinery	26.51	25.71	25.94	27.34	26.67	27.54
Men's clothing	29.23	28.73	28.25	28.67	27.40	27.24
Men's furnishings	18.56	17.99	18.34	19.80	19.17	19.67
Shirts, collars	15.71	15.25	15.47	17.18	16.25	16.60
Women's clothing	35.03	33.70	33.70	36.90	36.76	38.62
Food and tobacco	25.43	26.22	26.61	26.78	26.65	27.35
Canning, preserving	20.04	23.00	20.61	20.21	18.75	20.59
Other groceries	29.45	30.45	30.58	29.41	30.36	30.12
Meat, dairy products	29.13	29.69	31.37	30.16	30.03	30.34
Bakery products	26.34	26.67	26.66	26.86	26.68	27.26
Candy, ice cream	21.04	21.36	22.36	23.72	22.53	24.10
Tobacco	20.08	20.93	21.86	22.23	22.89	24.36
Water, light, power	34.17	34.40	35.20	35.56	34.92	35.06
Total	\$28.05	\$28.33	\$29.31	\$29.57	\$29.72	\$30.47

¹ New York State Department of Labor, *The Industrial Bulletin*, November, 1923; October, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929.

Average Weekly Earnings of Employes over 16 Years of Age in Tennessee, Selected Industries, 1928¹

Industry	Total number of employees	Average weekly earnings	
		Male	Female
Manufacturing:			
Agricultural implements	1,031	\$22.70	\$14.54
Bakery products	1,651	24.17	14.44
Boilers and tanks	1,067	22.57	24.64
Boots and shoes	1,356	16.14	9.96
Boxes, paper and wood	1,666	17.37	11.51
Brick, lime, cement, etc.	1,394	18.29	13.14
Chemicals and fertilizers	1,148	17.68	21.86
Cigars, tobacco, and snuff	3,398	15.69	12.89
Cotton goods and hosiery	27,509	18.27	13.38
Cottonseed-oil products	1,842	17.70	15.35
Food and food products	2,087	21.05	10.22
Foundry products	4,346	22.07	30.75
Furniture	2,417	19.34	15.00
Lumber	4,702	19.31	17.02
Lumber products	8,580	18.00	14.17
Printing, engraving and litho. ..	2,761	30.29	18.72
Silk and silk hosiery	7,025	22.24	13.22
Telephone and telegraph	1,434	30.35	16.56
Woolen mills and woolen extracts	1,869	16.84	13.06
Miscellaneous	2,610	19.41	14.48
Retail establishments:			
Department stores	6,761	23.86	18.85
Shops:			
Street railway car	1,046	25.14	19.62
Not otherwise specified:			
Auto sales and garage	1,534	27.99	20.63
Hotels and restaurants	1,522	15.90	10.93
Laundries	5,218	23.85	9.47
Packing houses, refin., canneries	1,894	21.89	9.20
Railroad transportation	4,584	26.84	21.86

Real Wages.—In order to find real wages, or purchasing power of money wages of factory workers in terms of the changes in the cost of living, for the 29-year period, 1899-1927, Paul F. Brissenden of Columbia University first computed estimated full-time money earnings year by year. Then he constructed an index of unemployment, an estimated ratio of actual to full employment. By means of these he easily found the actual money wages of factory workers. Finally, on the basis of the index of cost of living he secured real wages. The absolute amounts of real wages and the index numbers for the 29 years are given in the two following tables, taken from his study, *Earnings of Factory Workers 1899-1927*. Real earnings dropped appreciably in 1921, due to the extensive unemployment in the depression, they fell again in 1924 and 1927, for the same cause. Considering the heavy unemployment in the last quarter of the year, it is very probable that real wages declined during 1929.

¹Monthly Labor Review, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, February, 1930.

Real Wages of Factory Workers, 1899-1927¹

Year	Census average Wage	Estimated full-time money earnings	Estimated ratio, ac- tual to full employment	Actual money earnings	Index of cost of living 1914=100	Purchasing power of money earnings in 1914 dollars
1899...	\$426	\$525	.849	\$446	.74	\$603
1900...	440	544	.825	449	.76	591
1901...	447	552	.854	471	.78	604
1902...	458	566	.878	497	.80	621
1903...	469	579	.860	498	.84	593
1904...	477	590	.819	483	.83	582
1905...	487	602	.891	536	.83	646
1906...	506	626	.908	568	.86	660
1907...	625	650	.891	579	.91	636
1908...	520	643	.772	496	.87	570
1909...	518	643	.866	557	.87	640
1910...	529	654	.854	559	.92	608
1911...	536	662	.807	534	.95	562
1912...	554	684	.866	592	.96	617
1913...	576	712	.866	617	.99	623
1914...	580	719	.801	576	1.00	576
1915...	592	732	.831	608	.98	620
1916...	684	846	.908	768	1.07	718
1917...	793	980	.878	860	1.29	667
1918...	1,039	1,284	.860	1,104	1.57	703
1919...	1,158	1,433	.846	1,212	1.79	677
1920...	1,393	1,722	.864	1,488	2.05	726
1921...	1,180	1,462	.716	1,047	1.76	595
1922...	1,152	1,424	.822	1,171	1.66	705
1923...	1,267	1,566	.905	1,317	1.69	839
1924...	1,262	1,560	.840	1,310	1.69	776
1925...	1,280	1,582	.886	1,402	1.70	825
1926...	1,302	1,610	.892	1,436	1.73	830
1927...	1,304	1,612	.852	1,373	1.71	805

Index Numbers of Real Wages of Factory Workers,
1899-1927¹

Year	Hypotheti- cal full- time money "earnings"	Employ- ment	Money earnings, actual	The cost of living	Real earnings	Link relatives of change in real earnings from pre- ceding year
1899.....	73	106	77	74	105	....
1900.....	76	103	78	76	103	-2.0
1901.....	77	107	82	78	105	2.2
1902.....	79	110	86	80	108	2.8
1903.....	81	107	86	84	103	-4.5
1904.....	82	102	84	83	101	-1.9
1905.....	84	111	93	83	112	11.0
1906.....	97	113	99	86	115	2.2
1907.....	90	111	101	91	110	-3.6
1908.....	89	96	86	87	99	-10.4
1909.....	89	108	97	87	111	12.3
1910.....	91	107	97	92	106	-5.0
1911.....	92	101	93	95	98	-7.6
1912.....	95	108	103	96	107	9.8
1913.....	99	108	107	99	108	1.0
1914.....	100	100	100	100	100	-7.5
1915.....	102	104	106	98	108	7.6

¹Earnings of Factory Workers 1899 to 1927, page 53. By Paul F. Brisdenden. Census Monographs X, 1929, Bureau of the Census, United States Department of Commerce.

Year	Hypothetical full-time money "earnings"	Employment	Money earnings, actual	The cost of living	Real earnings	Link relatives of change in real earnings from preceding year
1916.....	118	113	133	107	125	15.8
1917.....	136	110	149	129	116	-7.1
1918.....	179	107	192	157	122	5.4
1919.....	199	106	210	179	118	-3.7
1920.....	239	108	258	205	126	7.2
1921.....	204	89	182	176	103	-18.0
1922.....	198	103	203	166	122	18.5
1923.....	218	113	229	169	146	17.0
1924.....	217	105	227	169	135	-7.5
1925.....	220	111	243	170	143	6.0
1926.....	224	112	249	173	144	1.0
1927.....	224	106	238	171	140	-2.5

COST OF LIVING

Little Change.—There was a very slight increase in the cost of living during 1929, according to the index of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics. This was due to the rise in retail food prices almost entirely, inasmuch as the indices for clothing, rent, fuel and light, and house furnishings showed declines:

Changes in Cost of Living, 1926-1929¹

(Average for 1913 = 100)

Item	1926		1927		1928		1929	
	June	Dec.	June	Dec.	June	Dec.	June	Dec.
Food	159.7	161.8	158.5	155.9	152.6	155.8	154.8	158.0
Clothing	168.2	166.7	164.9	162.9	162.6	161.9	161.3	160.5
Rent	165.4	164.2	162.1	160.2	157.6	155.9	153.7	151.9
Fuel and light....	180.7	188.3	180.8	183.2	177.2	181.3	175.2	178.7
House furnishings.	210.4	207.7	205.2	204.6	201.1	199.7	198.5	197.7
Miscellaneous	203.3	203.9	204.5	205.1	205.5	207.1	207.3	207.9
All items	174.8	175.6	173.4	172.0	170.0	171.3	170.2	171.4

Living Wage.—On the basis of the December, 1929, index of the cost of living of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Labor Bureau, Inc., a private organization, computed its minimum health and decency, as well as a skilled workers' budget up to that date. The first comprises the goods and services which, in the words of the United States Department of Labor, are "necessary to maintain a family of five at . . . a bottom level of health and decency below which a family cannot go without danger of physical and moral deterioration. This budget does not include many comforts which should be included in a proper 'American standard of living.'" The second budget adds several items to the minimum standard and is called a skilled workers'

¹ *Monthly Labor Review*, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, February, 1930.

budget. The Labor Bureau, Inc. found that the cost of food, clothing, rent, light and heat, house equipment, and miscellaneous items as of December, 1929, for a family of five, in the working class districts of Schenectady, New York, was \$2,069.09, or \$39.79 a week for 52 weeks' full employment, the minimum standard; it was \$2,517.75 in Reading, Pa., or \$48.42 a week, the skilled workers' standard. These were the lowest budgets of the cities covered. The minimum budget ran as high as \$2,543.96, or \$48.92 a week, in San Francisco, while the skilled workers' budget reached \$3,402.06 in New York, \$65.42 a week.

Minimum Health and Decency Budget¹

City	Food	Clothing	Rent	Light & Heat	House Equip.	Misc.	Total
New York	\$915.58	\$361.81	\$311.73	\$93.74	\$71.94	\$425.15	\$2,179.95
Brooklyn	962.57	380.44	327.73	98.55	75.63	446.91	2,291.83
Schenectady	746.94	362.09	318.64	101.39	115.87	424.16	2,069.09
Rochester	820.12	397.57	349.86	111.32	127.22	465.72	2,271.81
Chicago	927.23	392.48	365.50	147.18	107.93	512.67	2,452.99
San Francisco...	964.16	422.30	376.51	104.30	106.85	569.84	2,543.96
Philadelphia	966.04	391.70	317.21	122.56	105.74	499.84	2,403.09
Minneapolis	875.91	383.52	415.69	168.25	118.77	512.19	2,474.33
Reading, Pa.	923.23	398.77	236.23	99.69	106.19	403.10	2,167.21
Los Angeles.....	890.77	370.74	334.42	77.13	126.90	689.22	2,488.18

Skilled Workers' Budget, December, 1929¹

City	Food	Clothing	Rent	Light & Heat	House Equip.	Misc.	Total
Chicago	\$1,091.69	\$462.09	\$430.32	\$173.28	\$127.08	\$603.61	\$2,888.07
Scranton	1,127.33	486.92	288.45	121.73	129.67	492.22	2,646.32
Minneapolis ...	1,019.43	446.36	483.80	195.82	138.23	596.10	2,879.74
Reading, Pa. ...	1,072.56	463.27	274.43	115.82	123.37	468.30	2,517.75
New York	1,428.86	564.74	486.49	146.29	112.27	663.41	3,402.06

Standards Among Federal Employees.—The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics investigated the incomes and expenditures for the year ending June 30, 1928, of the families of 506 federal employees in the cities of Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, New Orleans, and New York, whose government salary ranged from under \$1,200 to \$2,500. Among its other conclusions were the following:

The government salary constituted but 78 percent of the total family income in New Orleans. In other cities it was still lower, being only 68 percent in Chicago.

In the several cities from 15 to 33 percent of the husbands in these federal families do outside work to add to the family income.

¹ *Facts for Workers*, Labor Bureau, Inc., February, 1930.

From 15 to 32 percent of these government employes' wives go out from the home to work elsewhere for money.

Children work and contribute to the family fund in many families.

A few families take in boarders and lodgers.

Some families are helped by relatives and friends by gifts of food, clothing, and other things.

In a few families there is an income from interest on savings or from rents on property owned.

Food is the main item of expense, ranging from 28 to 36 percent in the different cities, and the smaller the income the greater the percent of the expenditure for food, for people must have food though clothing be shabby and the house crowded.

Only from 2 to 10 percent of the families live within the government salary of the husband.

From 48 to 69 percent of the families had expenses above the entire income from all sources.

Only from 10 to 20 percent of all families had a government salary on and after July 1, 1928, sufficient to meet expenses equal to those of the year then ending.

The families living in rented homes range from 41 percent in Baltimore to 95 percent in New York.

... the care of health in the lower income group was neglected or postponed on account of insufficient income to meet such expense.

In some instances the living quarters were crowded, and were undesirable places in which to rear families, but necessity compelled the family to live in such surroundings because the rents were low and carfares could be saved. Such necessities as coal and ice often were used in limited quantities by many families.

The expense of educating their children and caring for their growing demands meant hard pull and self-denial for the parents of many families.

Family Expenditures of 506 Federal Employes¹

Item	Baltimore	Boston	Chicago	New York	New Orleans
Food	\$716.69	\$812.48	\$813.96	\$926.88	\$779.70
Clothing	301.66	282.78	338.16	305.27	259.79
Housing	541.02	500.53	613.51	486.18	360.50
Heating and lighting..	144.62	161.50	165.40	118.37	85.66
Furniture & furnishings	87.72	64.08	100.68	49.79	75.49
Other items	643.22	676.75	896.70	711.96	718.82
Total	\$2,434.93	\$2,498.12	\$2,928.41	\$2,598.45	\$2,279.96

Family Expenditures for Health of 506 Federal Employes¹

Income group	Families	—Average expenditure—	
		Per family	Per capita
Under \$1,500	47	\$39.18	\$9.82
\$1,500 and under \$2,100.....	141	93.13	23.85
\$2,100 and under \$2,700.....	161	115.55	27.64
\$2,700 and under \$3,300.....	95	121.09	28.96
\$3,300 and over	62	195.06	43.77
All incomes	506	\$112.99	\$27.42

¹ *Monthly Labor Review*, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, August, 1929.

HOURS

Union Standards.—For the eight union groups in time-work trades for which it secured data, the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics reported a decrease of four-tenths of one percent in hours of labor, between 1928 and 1929. Chauffeurs, teamsters and drivers, however, were still working on the average 54 hours per week, laundry workers 48, and bakers an average of 47.2 hours.

**Hours of Union Members in Specified Trade Groups,
May 15, 1929¹**

	Average	—Per cent of members whose hours per week were—									
Trade	hours	40	Over	Over	Over	Over	Over	Over	Over	Over	Over
group	per	and	40 and	44 and	48 and	48 and	54 and	54 and	60 and	60 and	60
	week	under	44	44	48	48	54	54	60	60	60
Bakers	47.2	...	11.0	0.3	7.1	79.4	0.1	2.0	...	...	...
Building trades	43.1	25.2	...	72.0	1.5	.9	.2	.1	...	...	...
Chauffeurs, team, & drivers	54.0	.3	.4	1.3	.7	22.0	11.7	24.0	12.4	25.1	2.1
Granite and stone	43.9	2.2	...	97.7	...	...	.1	...	...	...	...
Laundry	48.0	...	...	...	...	100.0	...	...	...	...	...
Linemen	46.4	3.1	...	46.3	1.4	31.3	16.1	1.2	.6	...	...
Longshoremen	44.7	...	...	85.8	...	13.2	...	...	.9	...	.1
Ptg. & pub.: Book & job	44.3	.2	.1	91.6	.1	8.0	...	...	...	...	...
News-paper	45.0	6.2	10.7	11.2	43.0	28.9	...	...	...	...	...
Avg.	44.8	17.0	.7	62.2	2.9	8.0	1.6	2.9	1.4	2.9	.2

Iron and Steel.—In the basic iron and steel industry, completely unorganized except for spots, average full-time hours per week in all departments in 1929 were 54.6, according to the extensive study made by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics. In 1926 they were 54.4 hours per week. The following departments had longer hours than the average in 1929; blast furnaces, 60.7; open-hearth furnaces, 57.7; blooming mills, 55; plate mills, 58; bar mills, 55.6; and standard-rail mills, 56 full-time hours per week. There had even been an increase of hours in every one of the departments where these long hours still prevailed, between 1926 and 1929.

Two graduate students, by arrangement with the department of research and education of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, investigated 155 steel plants, belonging to 127 companies, to determine hours of labor worked. According

¹ *Monthly Labor Review*, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, December, 1929.

to the bulletin of February 15, 1930, of the Federal Council, they found the following conditions:

Total number of men.....	248,247
Number of men on 8 hours.....	115,619 or 46.6 per cent
Number of men on 10 hours.....	110,698 or 44.6 per cent
Number of men on 11 hours.....	5,320 or 2.1 per cent
Number of men on 12 hours.....	16,610 or 6.7 per cent
Number of men on 5 to 5½ day week.....	51,234 or 20.6 per cent
Number of men on 6 day week.....	130,301 or 52.5 per cent
Number of men on 7 day week.....	66,712 or 26.9 per cent

The 12-hour day and the 7-day week are not apparently a thing of the past in the steel industry.

Automobiles.—The average full-time hours per week in the motor-vehicle industry, another very important employer of labor, were 49.4 in 1928, as compared with 50.3 in 1925, the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics found.

Foundries and Machine Shops.—Between 1927 and 1929, hours of machine shop workers increased from 50.1 to 50.3 per week, while those of foundry workers declined from 51.1 to 51.0.

State Differences.—For 11 cotton-goods manufacturing states, the average full-time hours in 1928 were 53.4, against 53.3 in 1926, a very slight increase. The northern states, however, with the exception of Maine and New Hampshire, were under, the southern states, above the average. The northern states tended to increase hours between 1926 and 1928.

Hours in Cotton-Goods Manufacturing States, 1926 and 1928¹

State	Average full-time hours per week		State	Average full-time hours per week	
	1926	1928		1926	1928
Alabama	54.8	55.0	New York	49.1	48.5
Connecticut	50.8	50.8	North Carolina	55.8	55.8
Georgia	57.0	56.1	Rhode Island	50.2	52.2
Maine	53.9	54.1	South Carolina	55.1	55.0
Massachusetts	48.5	48.8	Virginia	55.2	55.1
New Hampshire ...	53.8	53.6			
			All states	53.3	53.4

Common Street Laborers.—In all cities of 2,500 and over in the country there were 351 which had a 10-hour day and 60-hour week schedule for their common street laborers, the United States Bureau discovered in a canvass of 1929. Commissioner of Labor Statistics Ethelbert Stewart wrote in the *Monthly Labor Review* of August, 1929: "It is pretty generally agreed that the public, when it acts as an employer, should be a good employer. If that is not agreed to it ought

¹ *Wages and Hours of Labor in Cotton-Goods Manufacturing 1910 to 1928.* United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1929.

INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS

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to be. If there is anything that is well settled in the minds of reasonable men it is that the 10-hour day and the 60-hour week are, or ought to be, things of the past. They are tolerated in industry only in establishments generally referred to as sweatshops."

Five-Day Week.—As a result of its study of the 5-day week in manufacturing industries, the National Industrial Conference Board declared:

The evidence does, however, remove the 5-day week from the status of a radical and impractical administrative experiment and places it among the plans which, however revolutionary they may appear to some, have demonstrated both practicability and usefulness under certain circumstances. An employer who is interested in the adaptability of the 5-day schedule to his own business may, therefore, approach the problem as a working schedule that has been in force for a number of years in various establishments with generally satisfactory results.

The Labor Bureau, Inc. estimated on the basis of the statements of the American Federation of Labor, the National Industrial Conference Board, and the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, that there were about 1,000,000 workers enjoying the five-day week in 1929. Fully a quarter million or more obtained it last year, most of whom were union men and women.

INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS

Manufacturing Industries.—The *Monthly Labor Review* for January, 1930, after noting the results of a study on accidents in selected manufacturing industries in 1928, and comparing the frequency and severity rates¹ for 1927 and 1928, declared: "there were altogether too many industries in which the number of accidents per million man-hours increased. The severity rate, which is based on time loss, tells the same story—a general increase in 1928 over 1927."

Considering the industries in the group of states reporting all accidents, including 26 of the 32 states covered and therefore reasonably representative of the entire number, there are 17 industries which show increases in total frequency rates and 12 which show decreases; 17 which show increases in total severity rates and 12 which show decreases. Twelve industries show increases in the fatality frequency rates, 15 show decreases, and two no change. Twenty-one industries increased their permanent disability rates; 8 decreased them.

¹Accident frequency rates are expressed as number of cases per 1,000,000 hours' exposure. To determine the severity of accidents, they are first divided into three groups: death, permanent disability, and temporary disability. To the first two are assigned a schedule of fixed time allowances; 6,000 days for death, 4,000 days for the loss of an arm, etc. Temporary disabilities are recorded in terms of actual days' disability. Severity rates are expressed as number of days lost per 1,000 hours' exposure.

Accident Frequency and Severity Rates for Specified Industries, 1927 and 1928¹

<i>Industry and year</i>	<i>Full-year workers</i>	<i>Frequency rate</i>	<i>Severity rate</i>	<i>Industry and year</i>	<i>Full-year workers</i>	<i>Frequency rate</i>	<i>Severity rate</i>
Agl. implements:				Mach. tools:			
1927.....	7,282	28.92	3.21	1927.....	12,207	22.14	1.53
1928.....	13,144	29.49	2.64	1928.....	15,406	22.22	2.24
Automobiles:				Paper and pulp:			
1927.....	48,886	13.65	1.79	1927.....	26,074	30.27	3.60
1928.....	56,381	23.72	1.98	1928.....	26,822	30.75	3.68
Auto. tires:				Petrol. refng.:			
1927.....	30,696	41.69	1.70	1927.....	19,951	34.58	4.15
1928.....	34,271	36.87	1.56	1928.....	24,818	20.46	3.00
Boots and shoes:				Pottery:			
1927.....	39,763	8.07	.66	1927.....	6,053	13.05	1.01
1928.....	38,537	9.24	1.04	1928.....	7,449	13.84	1.53
Brick:				Shpbldg. steel:			
1927.....	13,497	36.45	2.63	1927.....	6,011	46.53	5.00
1928.....	11,874	40.46	3.17	1928.....	8,361	18.52	2.57
Carpets:				Slaughtering & meat pkg.:			
1927.....	15,321	4.94	.49	1927.....	36,222	36.44	2.37
1928.....	14,091	6.15	1.38	1928.....	49,383	39.01	2.63
Chemicals:				Stmpd. & enameled ware:			
1927.....	8,540	12.88	2.07	1927.....	6,260	14.38	2.03
1928.....	11,938	22.77	5.27	1928.....	7,878	30.66	2.21
Cotton goods:				Steam fittings:			
1927.....	56,903	13.60	.81	1927.....	19,396	28.50	.84
1928.....	62,880	12.59	.74	1928.....	14,507	22.44	2.28
Elec. machy.:				Stoves:			
1927.....	60,927	15.49	1.74	1927.....	7,515	45.59	1.93
1928.....	67,098	12.70	1.52	1928.....	9,653	34.53	1.94
Fertilizers:				Struc.-iron wk.:			
1927.....	2,498	36.16	4.85	1927.....	8,862	41.06	6.32
1928.....	4,047	40.98	9.22	1928.....	10,315	54.49	5.72
Flour:				Wood; furniture:			
1927.....	7,107	23.77	2.72	1927.....	21,918	21.66	2.19
1928.....	10,224	30.45	3.04	1928.....	26,185	17.52	1.95
Fdry. & mach.:				Planing mills:			
1927.....	72,963	30.76	2.88	1927.....	9,416	25.31	5.12
1928.....	72,189	29.45	2.66	1928.....	12,327	35.15	4.27
Glass:				Other:			
1927.....	19,267	39.29	2.31	1927.....	13,631	62.19	8.22
1928.....	20,236	42.80	1.48	1928.....	37,680	53.15	8.04
Hardware:				Woolen goods:			
1927.....	3,764	30.64	1.99	1927.....	15,796	9.60	.45
1928.....	6,391	25.53	2.57	1928.....	22,258	11.53	.48
Leather:				All industries:			
1927.....	11,521	28.07	1.36	1927.....	608,247	....	...
1928.....	14,192	20.75	1.97	1928.....	710,535	....	...

Total frequency and severity rates for 29 industries are given in the following table. It will be seen that between 1927 and 1928 there were increases in both rates in these industries:

¹ *Monthly Labor Review*, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, January, 1930. Accidents for states reporting all disabilities extending beyond day of injury (26 states). Frequency rates are based on 1,000,000 hours' exposure; severity rates on 1,000 hours' exposure.

Automobiles	Machine tools
Boots and shoes	Paper and pulp
Brick	Pottery
Carpets	Slaughtering and meat packing
Chemicals	Stamped and enameled ware
Fertilizers	Woolen goods
Flour	

Iron and Steel.—For a selected group of plants for which accident frequency rates have been compiled since 1913, the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics reported a slight increase in 1928 against 1927, 5.6 per 1,000,000 hours' exposure compared with 5.3. Of the six units, all but two of the group showed rising frequency rates. For the iron and steel industry as a whole, there was a slight decline in both frequency and severity rates, except for temporary disability. On the basis of a 5-year moving average for the more important departments, however, the period ending in 1928 does not show up so well, as revealed by the following figures:

Accident Frequency and Severity Rates for the Iron and Steel Industry, 1921-1928¹

5-year period ending	Frequency rate (per 1,000,000 hours' exposure)							
	The in dustry	Blast. furnaces	Besse- mer.	Open hearth	Foun- dries	Heavy rolling	Plate mills	Sheet mills
1921.....	39.5	36.3	47.0	44.8	63.1	29.9	37.6	33.4
1922.....	36.5	34.0	39.9	41.3	60.4	27.6	36.7	35.2
1923.....	34.9	32.9	30.5	33.0	61.7	23.8	31.4	37.2
1924.....	33.6	30.7	24.9	32.9	62.7	21.2	29.4	35.1
1925.....	31.3	29.0	17.0	29.9	63.1	18.1	26.8	33.2
1926.....	29.9	28.7	16.7	28.3	62.8	16.6	25.6	30.6
1927.....	24.7	24.6	13.5	22.9	55.1	13.2	19.2	22.9
1928.....	27.4	27.1	15.3	24.7	59.8	14.4	21.8	26.7

5-year period ending	Severity rate (per 1,000 hours' exposure)							
	The in dustry	Blast. furnaces	Besse- mer.	Open hearth	Foun- dries	Heavy rolling	Plate mills	Sheet mills
1921.....	3.4	5.7	5.4	5.8	3.2	3.3	2.5	1.7
1922.....	3.1	5.5	4.2	5.3	2.7	2.9	2.5	1.8
1923.....	3.0	5.0	3.2	4.2	2.7	2.4	2.4	1.9
1924.....	2.8	4.5	2.6	4.2	2.8	2.3	2.4	2.1
1925.....	2.7	4.6	3.2	4.0	3.1	2.6	2.6	1.9
1926.....	2.8	4.7	4.0	4.6	3.2	2.6	2.6	1.8
1927.....	2.4	4.1	3.7	4.3	2.9	2.4	2.2	1.0
1928.....	2.7	4.4	4.1	4.5	3.0	2.4	2.4	1.7

Steam Railroads.—As recorded by the Interstate Commerce Commission, there was a decrease in the number of railroad employes killed of 4.57 percent, and of those injured, 18.36 percent, between 1927 and 1928. The accident frequency rate per million man-hours for fatalities was 0.30 in 1928 and 0.34 in 1927; for injuries, 16.62 in 1928, and 19.87 in 1927. In 1928 there were 1,243 railroad employes killed, and 69,692 injured; in 1927 the figures were 1,490, and 87,568.

¹ *Monthly Labor Review*, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, October, 1929.

Coal Mines.—The fatalities per 1,000,000 tons mined in both bituminous and anthracite fields in 1929 were 3.623, against 3.777 in 1928, and 3.73 in 1927. The worst disasters in the past year occurred at McAlester, Oklahoma, on December 17, when an explosion killed 61 miners; and at Parnassus, Pennsylvania, on March 21, when also an explosion snuffed out 46 lives. A total of 2,181 coal miners were killed in 1929.

FARMERS' CONDITIONS

Production and Prices.—Due to widespread drought, crop yields averaged 5.3 percent less in the calendar year 1929 than in 1928. Spring wheat fell from 336 million bushels to 128, all wheat from 915 to 807. Corn, oats, and barley dropped 2,819 to 2,622 million bushels, 1,439 to 1,239, and 357 to 300 respectively. White potatoes rose from 357 to 465, as did tobacco and cotton, 1,375 to 1,501, and 14.5 million bales to 14.9. The farm value of 22 principal crops was \$7,678,049,000 in 1929, against \$7,611,278,000 in 1928, a very slight gain. The index number of prices for 30 farm products declined from 139 to 138. There were sharp declines, however, for grains, fruits and vegetables, and cotton and cotton-seed. The trend of farm prices and purchasing power since 1910 follows:

General Trend of Prices and Purchasing Power, 1910-1929

(On 5-year base, August, 1909-July, 1914 = 100)

Year	Index numbers of farm prices							Ratio of prices paid by farmers to prices received for commodities bought and sold	
	Grains	Fruits and vegetables	Meat animals	Dairy products	Poultry products	Cotton and cotton-seed	All groups of 30 items	Prices paid by farmers for commodities bought	Prices received for commodities sold
1910...	104	91	103	100	104	113	103	98	106
1911...	96	106	87	97	91	101	95	101	93
1912...	106	110	95	103	101	87	99	100	99
1913...	92	92	108	100	101	97	100	100	99
1914...	103	100	112	100	105	85	102	101	101
1915...	120	83	104	98	103	78	100	106	95
1916...	126	123	120	102	116	119	117	123	95
1917...	217	202	173	125	157	187	176	150	118
1918...	226	162	202	152	185	245	200	178	112
1919...	231	189	206	173	206	247	209	205	102
1920...	231	249	173	188	222	248	205	206	99
1921...	112	148	108	148	161	101	116	156	75
1922...	105	152	113	134	139	156	124	152	81
1923...	114	136	106	148	145	216	135	153	88
1924...	129	124	109	134	147	211	134	154	87
1925...	156	160	139	137	161	177	147	159	92
1926...	129	189	146	136	156	122	136	156	87
1927...	128	155	139	138	141	128	131	154	85
1928...	130	146	150	140	150	152	139	156	90
1929...	121	136	156	140	159	145	138	155 ²	89 ²

¹ The Agricultural Situation, United States Department of Agriculture, March 1, 1930. ² Preliminary.

Exports.—In 1927 both wheat and cotton were exported in unusually large quantities. Since then there has been a serious decline in the volume sent out of the country, as indicated in the following figures:

Exports of Specified Farm Products, 1920-1929¹

(In thousands)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Wheat, including flour (bushels)</i>	<i>Total meats (pounds)</i>	<i>Cotton, running bales (bales)</i>
1920.....	311,601	1,043,500	6,111
1921.....	359,021	786,280	6,385
1922.....	235,307	733,832	6,015
1923.....	175,190	958,472	5,224
1924.....	241,454	729,832	6,653
1925.....	138,784	547,361	8,362
1926.....	193,971	428,613	8,916
1927.....	228,576	302,795	9,199
1928.....	151,976	315,586	8,546
1929.....	154,924	360,885	7,422

Agricultural Marketing Act.—On June 14, 1929, the United States Senate passed the farm relief bill without the debenture provision, and the next day it became a law with its signing by President Hoover. As explained by Secretary of Agriculture Arthur M. Hyde, the act contemplates:

(1) strengthening of the bargaining power of producers and increasing the efficiency of their marketing operations through the development of effective cooperative-selling associations, stabilization corporations and clearing-houses; (2) stabilizing the supply of agricultural products and minimizing fluctuations in prices by preventing surplus production in so far as possible, and by effective distribution of surpluses once produced; (3) assisting in developing a national agricultural policy with reference to land utilization and marginal lands; (4) assisting in broadening markets for agricultural products at home and abroad, and more specifically, through the development of by-products of and new uses for agricultural commodities; (5) helping to correct maladjustments in transportation conditions that work hardships on agricultural producers in any section of the country; and (6) assisting in minimizing undesirable speculation in agricultural commodities and eliminating waste in their distribution.

Congress directed the federal farm board, created by the act, to use up to \$500,000,000 as a revolving fund in loans to cooperatives and stabilization corporations.

Values and Mortgages.—On March 1, 1929, according to a survey of the United States Department of Agriculture, farm real-estate values for the whole country were 20 percent lower

¹ *The Agricultural Situation*, United States Department of Agriculture, March 1, 1930.

than in March, 1914, in terms of 1914 dollars. Farm mortgage debt in January, 1928, as estimated by the same source was \$9,468,526,000, against \$7,857,700,000 on January 1, 1920—with war prices existing on the latter date.

Mechanization.—In 1928 there were over 850,000 tractors on American farms. According to Secretary Hyde, "more than half of our hard winter wheat, one-fifth of our hard spring wheat, and a smaller proportion of our soft winter wheat, was harvested by combines" in 1929. As against about 35,000 wheat farmers in Montana in 1915-1917, the state had less than half that number in 1929.

II. TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION

GENERAL DATA

Various Bodies.—The trade union world of the United States may be divided as follows:

- I. The American Federation of Labor
 - 1. Four departments and two fraternal organizations
 - 2. 105 international unions
 - 3. 49 state federations
 - 4. 803 city centrals
 - 5. 28,865 locals
- II. Independent Trade Unions
 - 1. The four railroad brotherhoods
 - 2. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers
 - 3. The Amalgamated Food Workers
 - 4. Shoe workers, railroad workers, etc.
- III. Independent General Organizations
 - 1. The Industrial Workers of the World
 - 2. The Trade Union Unity League
 - 3. The Conference for Progressive Labor Action
 - 4. The Industrial Union League

The philosophies, programs, and policies of the numerous bodies affiliated to the American Federation of Labor dominate the union scene. Very close to them in viewpoint stand the unaffiliated railroad brotherhoods, the Engineers, Firemen, Conductors, and Trainmen, and such other unions as are outside the Federation for jurisdictional reasons mainly. The Conference for Progressive Labor Action represents a portion of the progressive opposition inside the affiliated and unaffiliated unions. To the left of all the foregoing are such general organizations as the syndicalistic Industrial Workers of the World, founded in 1905, the communistic Trade Union Unity League, established in 1929, and the Industrial Union League, started in 1928, as well as some independent unions not affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

In terms of membership, the Federation reports 2,933,545, the four railroad brotherhoods and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers have about 550,000, and the others a very much smaller number. The Conference for Progressive Labor Action and the Industrial Union League have no union base but are made up of individual members. The Industrial Workers of the World and the Trade Union Unity League did not in

1929 each have a dues paying membership in their various industrial unions in excess of one percent of the reported membership of the American Federation of Labor, at a liberal estimate.

Percent of Working Class Organized.—If the number of all trade unionists in the United States be estimated at about 3,600,000, and the number of wage and salaried workers as of 1920 computed at 30,500,000, then there is but twelve percent of the American working class organized. This figure compares with 52 percent for Austria in 1924; 44 percent in Czechoslovakia; 43 percent in Australia; 35 percent in Germany; 34 percent in Great Britain and Ireland, and similarly high percentages for other industrialized European nations. The 88 percent of eligible but unorganized workers in the United States includes those who are employed in such basic industries as agriculture, metal mining, food products, iron and steel, automobiles, lumber and furniture, and textiles; those engaged in trade and clerical occupations; those in professional pursuits and in personal service.

The unorganized 88 percent of the American wage and salaried workers also embraces those in the company unions estimated at a million or more. In the report of Martin F. Ryan, treasurer of the American Federation of Labor and president of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, to the convention of his organization in September, 1929, he stated the prevailing trade union point of view in regard to company unions:

Two general purposes have been behind company unions: a hostile move to displace trade unions and an effort to provide a channel through which the company could dictate the collective bargaining relations with its employees.

And, with reference to other plans of the employers to domesticate their employees, Mr. Ryan added:

Some corporations which have organized company unions are spending considerable sums of money on employee representation and welfare work. In addition to these inducements they add group insurance, old age pensions, and employee stock ownership plans. Obviously, the purpose of these corporations is to control and influence the worker so that he will be bound to his position. Being bound in this manner, he is compelled to forego the exercise of fundamental rights. This is the price such workers must pay for the paternal care which corporations exercise over them.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Membership.—Secretary Frank Morrison's report to the Toronto (1929) convention of the American Federation of Labor indicated a membership "reported or paid upon" of 2,933,545, an increase of 37,482 over that for 1928, 2,896,063. The Federation reached its peak in 1920, when it had 4,078,740 members, it lost thereafter until it reported 2,865,799 in 1924, since when it has remained about stationary.

The United Mine Workers were remitted their per capita tax on 400,000 members for 1928 during their costly strike, and on 150,000 for 1929. With the suspension of the Railroad Signalmen, some 8,000 members were lost to the Federation in 1929. The Railway Clerks paid upon 32,000 in 1928, less than one-third their membership, when they were reinstated late in that year. In 1929 they reported 96,900. They have been making steady gains since 1924. Between 1928 and 1929 the international unions showed more increases than decreases. Losses occurred among the federal and local union membership, however. The following internationals reported gains or losses of 1,000 or more members:

<i>Increases (1,000 or more)</i>			
Actors	1,200	Tobacco Workers	1,000
Building Service Employees..	2,300	All other Internationals.....	6,300
Federal Employees	7,900		
Stationary Firemen	1,200	Total reported gain.....	65,800
Hodcar's & Com. Lab'rs....	16,400		
Ladies Garment Workers....	2,000	<i>Decreases (1,000 or more)</i>	
Leather Workers	4,000	Barbers	1,900
Letter Carriers	4,600	Capmakers	1,300
Machinists	2,500	Fur Workers	1,400
Musicians	3,300	Maintenance of Waymen....	2,800
Operating Engineers	1,000	Painters	2,200
Post Office Clerks	2,000	Street Railway Employees....	1,600
Railroad Telegraphers	4,000	All other Internationals.....	4,900
Teamsters	6,100		
		Total reported loss.....	16,100

The largest increase, that among the Hodcarriers and Common Laborers, is partly explained by the amalgamation with the 4,000 members of the Tunnel and Subway Constructors. The gain of the Teamsters is relatively large. The healthy increases of workers in the civil service, Federal Employees, Letter Carriers and Post Office Clerks, should be noted. Gains among such crafts as Stationary Firemen, Machinists, Railroad Clerks and Telegraphers are significant. A substantial improvement took place among the Ladies' Garment Workers after these figures were compiled, offset, however, by the internecine warfare which broke out among the Illinois soft coal miners. The Furriers paid only upon 2,800 members in 1929, as against 7,800 in 1926. A severe trade depression is largely responsible.

Membership of National and International Unions Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, 1920-1929

Organization	1920	1922	1924	1927	1928	1929
Actors	6,900	9,400	7,400	10,300	10,300	11,500
Asbestos Workers	2,200	2,000	2,200	2,600	2,700	2,900
Bakery & Conf. Workers.	27,500	24,800	22,200	21,900	21,600	21,200
Barbers	44,200	45,200	45,300	54,500	54,100	52,200
Bill Posters	1,600	1,600	1,600	1,600	1,600	1,600
Blacksmiths	48,300	36,700	5,000	5,000	5,000	5,000
Boil'r'm's. & Iron Shipbldrs	103,000	41,700	17,500	14,800	17,100	17,200
Bookbinders	20,700	16,300	13,400	13,800	13,800	13,600
Boot & Shoe Workers....	46,700	40,200	37,200	35,000	32,600	32,400
Brewery Workers'	34,100	19,000	16,000	16,000	16,000	16,000
Brick & Clay Workers....	5,200	4,100	4,800	5,000	5,000	5,000
Bricklrys, Masons, Plast...	70,000	70,000	70,000	83,700	90,000	90,000
Bridge & Str'c Iron Wkrs.	24,200	14,000	17,700	21,300	20,700	20,400
Broom & Whisk Makers...	1,400	800	700	500	500	500
Build'g Service Employees	....	9,400	6,200	6,200	6,900	9,200
Carpenters & Joiners....	331,500	313,800	315,500	322,000	322,000	322,000
Cigarmakers	38,800	32,000	27,700	18,300	17,500	17,000
Cloth Hat & Cap Makers.	 ²	 ²	 ²	10,200	8,200	6,900
Conductors, Sleeping Car..	1,200	2,600	2,300	2,300	2,300	2,300
Coopers	4,300	2,800	1,500	1,000	900	800
Cutting Die & Cut'r Mkrs.	200	300	 ¹	 ¹	 ¹	 ¹
Diamond Workers	600	500	500	400	400	400
Elastic Goring Weavers...	100	100	100	 ¹	 ¹	 ¹
Electrical Workers	139,200	142,000	142,000	142,000	142,000	142,000
Elevator Constructors	3,100	3,800	8,100	10,200	10,200	10,200
Federal Employees	38,500	25,000	20,800	20,000	22,600	30,500
Fire Fighters	22,100	16,100	15,000	16,000	16,000	16,800
Firemen, Stationary	29,600	25,000	9,000	9,000	8,300	9,500
Foundry Employees	9,100	4,000	3,600	3,500	3,500	3,500
Fur Workers	12,100	4,700	8,900	7,200	4,200	2,800
Garment Workers, United.	45,900	47,500	47,500	47,500	47,500	47,500
Glass Bottle Blowers....	10,000	9,700	6,000	6,000	6,000	6,000
Glass Cutters .....	....	....	....	....	300	900
Glass Workers, Flint	9,900	8,700	6,100	5,200	5,100	5,200
Glass Workers, Window...	4,800	5,000	4,000	2,000	 ¹	 ¹
Glove Workers	1,000	400	200	600	700	800
Granite Cutters	10,500	10,000	8,600	8,500	8,500	8,500
Hatters, United	10,500	11,500	11,500	11,500	11,500	11,500
Hodcar'rs & Com. Lab'rs.	42,000	46,000	49,000	70,000	75,300	91,700
Horseshoers	5,400	2,500	2,000	1,200	900	900
Hotel & Rest. Employees.	60,400	46,500	38,500	39,800	38,500	37,800
Iron, Steel & Tin Workers	31,500	15,900	11,100	9,900	9,000	8,900
Jewelry Workers	8,100	 ¹	1,200	600	900	800
Ladies' Garment Workers.	105,400	93,900	91,000	80,000	30,300	32,300
Lathers	5,900	8,000	8,000	17,500	16,500	16,500
Laundry Workers	6,700	6,500	5,500	5,500	5,500	5,500
Leather Workers, United.	11,700	3,400	2,000	1,000	1,000	5,000
Letter Carriers	32,500	32,500	32,500	40,000	40,400	45,000
Letter Carriers, Rural....	300	1,000	300	600	800	800
Lithographers	6,100	7,600	5,500	5,700	6,100	5,800
Longshoremen	74,000	46,300	30,500	34,700	37,100	37,700
Machinists	330,800	180,900	77,900	72,300	74,500	77,000
Maintenance of Way Emp.	 ²	 ²	38,300	28,200	35,000	32,200
Marble Workers	1,200	1,700	3,000	4,900	5,600	6,400
Marine Engineers	17,000	19,000	 ²	 ¹	 ²	 ²
Masters, Mates & Pilots..	7,100	5,500	4,100	3,100	3,100	3,000
Meat Cutters & Butchers..	65,300	19,600	11,500	11,700	11,800	11,800
Metal Engravers .....	....	100	100	100	100	100

Organisation	1920	1922	1924	1927	1928	1929
Metal Polishers	10,000	8,200	6,000	6,000	6,000	6,000
Mine, Mill & Sm't'r Wkrs.	21,100	4,600	9,100	4,000	4,500	4,000
Mine Workers, United....	393,600	372,900	402,700	400,000	400,000	400,000
Molders	57,300	26,500	33,600	26,500	23,200	23,700
Musicians	70,000	75,000	77,100	80,000	96,700	100,000
Oil Field Workers.....	20,900	6,100	2,200	1,000	1,000	1,600
Operating Engineers	32,000	32,000	25,000	30,200	32,000	33,000
Painters	103,100	97,800	103,300	112,900	110,300	108,100
Papermakers	7,400	8,300	6,200	4,000	4,000	4,000
Patrolmen, Railroad	2,600	900	 ³	 ¹	 ¹	 ¹
Patternmakers	9,000	8,000	7,000	7,000	7,000	7,000
Pavers & Rammersmen.....	1,900	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000
Paving Cutters	2,600	2,400	2,400	2,400	2,300	2,300
Photo Engravers	5,900	6,500	6,800	7,900	8,300	8,600
Piano and Organ Workers.	3,200	900	600	500	500	500
Plasterers	19,400	24,600	30,000	39,000	39,200	39,200
Plumbers and Steamfitters.	32,000	35,000	35,000	45,000	45,000	45,000
Post Office Clerks.....	16,200	17,800	20,000	30,000	30,000	32,000
Potters, Operative	8,000	9,200	8,300	7,200	6,900	6,600
Powd'r & High Exp. Wkrs.	300	200	200	200	200	200
Print Cutters	400	300	 ⁴	 ⁴	 ⁴	 ⁴
Printers, Plate	1,400	1,500	1,200	1,200	1,200	1,200
Printers and Color Mixers.	500	500	 ⁴	 ³	 ⁴	 ⁴
Printing Pressmen	35,000	37,500	38,700	40,000	40,000	40,000
Pulp & Paper Mill Wkrs.	9,500	6,800	5,000	5,000	5,000	5,000
Quarry Workers	3,000	3,000	2,900	3,000	3,000	3,000
Railroad Signalmen	-12,300	10,500	8,000	8,000	8,000	 ²
Railroad Telegraphers	48,700	50,000	43,300	35,000	35,000	39,000
Railway Carmen	182,100	171,700	137,500	80,000	80,000	80,000
Railway Clerks	186,000	137,800	88,400	 ⁵	32,000	96,900
Railway Mail Association.	14,400	16,600	17,900	19,400	19,700	19,800
Retail Clerks	20,800	16,700	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
Roofers	1,800	3,000	3,000	4,000	4,000	4,000
Sawsmiths	100	100	 ²	 ²	 ²	 ²
Seamen	65,900	49,200	18,000	15,000	15,000	15,000
Sheet Metal Workers.....	21,800	25,000	25,000	25,000	25,000	25,000
Siderographers	100	100	100	100	100	100
Stl. & Cop. Plate Engr'v'rs	200	300	100	 ⁵	 ⁵	 ⁵
Stereotypers & Elect'pers.	5,900	6,000	6,500	7,300	7,400	7,700
Stonecutters	4,000	4,600	5,000	5,800	5,800	5,800
Stove Mounters	1,900	2,000	1,600	1,600	1,600	1,400
Street Railway Employees.	98,700	100,000	100,000	101,200	101,300	99,700
Switchmen	14,000	8,800	9,300	8,900	9,100	9,300
Tailors, Journeymen	12,000	12,000	10,000	7,700	7,200	6,800
Teachers	9,300	7,000	3,700	3,500	3,800	4,200
Teamsters, Chauffeurs ...	110,800	76,400	75,000	86,500	89,400	95,500
Tech. Engin'rs, Draftsm'n.	3,500	1,000	600	1,600	1,900	1,500
Telegraphers, Commercial..	2,200	3,400	3,700	3,900	3,800	3,800
Textile Workers, United..	104,900	30,000	30,000	30,000	30,000	30,000
Theatrical Stage Employees	19,600	19,500	20,000	23,100	23,200	23,300
Timber Workers	10,100	800	 ¹	 ¹	 ¹	 ¹
Tobacco Workers	15,200	3,400	1,500	1,400	3,200	4,200
Tunnel & Subway Constr's.	3,000	3,000	3,000	4,000	4,000	 ⁶
Typographical Union	70,500	68,900	68,800	74,900	75,800	76,400
Upholsterers	5,600	6,700	7,500	10,200	10,700	10,700
Wall Paper Crafts .....	.....	.....	600	600	600	600
Wire Weavers	400	400	400	400	400	400
Wood Carvers	1,200	1,100	1,000	1,200	1,300	1,200

¹ Disbanded. ² Suspended for failure to comply with decision of convention. ³ Withdrawn from affiliation. ⁴ Amalgamation of both and change of title to United Wall Paper Crafts of North America. ⁵ Merged with International Plate Printers and Die Stampers. ⁶ Amalgamated with Hodcarriers.

The American Federation of Labor obviously did not succeed in doubling its membership in 1929, nor did it do much more than hold its own in areas where its affiliated internationals already had some footing. In other places, among them some of the basic industries, there are no unions yet, or merely semblances of organizations, which find it difficult to keep alive, much less able to grow and conquer. It should be noted, however, that during the past year, from its headquarters in Washington, through its hundred-odd international unions, its state federations, its hundreds of central bodies and individual volunteer organizers and through its press and publicity, the American Federation of Labor did exert considerable effort to organize the unorganized.

Organization of the South.—Daniel J. Tobin, president of the Teamsters, read the following editorial published by the Scripps-Howard chain of newspapers a day after the convention of the Federation opened in Toronto, October 7th, to the assembled delegates:

Where is the A. F. of L.?

To anyone interested in the rights and welfare of the workers, the American Federation of Labor, meeting in Toronto, this week, is a somewhat pathetic organization.

It has to report a failure to make appreciable gains in membership, being now below three millions, compared with its five million and more in 1920.

It has to report a labor awakening in the South in which it has little share, and industrial warfare in the South which it has done little to mitigate.

It has to report increasing technological unemployment caused by machines doing the work of men, and its own inability to obtain governmental unemployment and old age pension systems to protect scrapped labor.

It has to report basic industries, such as steel, automobiles, rubber, oil, in which labor has neither organization nor collective bargaining.

It has to report other basic industries, such as coal and textiles, in which chaotic conditions drift from bad to worse, with the federation having no constructive program to prevent increasing suffering in these trades.

It has to report growth of the anti-labor injunction evil handcuffing the unions, and its helplessness to protect the constitutional civil rights of the workers.

And all this is happening in the most powerful, most prosperous, and allegedly most enlightened democracy in the world.

It would seem that there is something seriously wrong either with the country or with the American Federation of Labor. Perhaps much is wrong with the country and with the A. F. of L.

Certainly government and industry are jointly responsible when the Secretary of Labor must admit that "there are among us from 10 to 20 million people who do not share as they should in the prosperity enjoyed by the rest of us." Certainly government and industry are jointly responsible for the legal and physical terrorism which victimize workers and their unions.

But, after all, what is the American Federation of Labor for? Unions are organized in trades and federated in a national body for the specific purpose of protecting the interests of labor. If the A. F. of L. cannot get justice for labor in Congress, in the courts, and in industry, who can?

The truth is that the A. F. of L. is failing miserably in its stewardship. Every year its weakness is more apparent.

The Southern textile situation is a vivid example of that failure, but it is only one of many examples. For thirty years the A. F. of L. ignored the field, except for easy resolutions and a handful of organizers. The job has been left to the Communists.

While the hungry Southern mill hands are facing alone the organized employers and hostile authorities, beaten by mobs and shot down by sheriffs, the sleek A. F. of L. officials sit twiddling their thumbs at mahogany desks in Washington or make patrioteering speeches to the National Security League or at West Point.

The A. F. of L. is accurately described as the aristocracy of labor. All artistocracies are subject to dry rot.

This editorial was hotly resented by the delegates, and the invitation by the editor-in-chief of the Scripps-Howard papers to reply to it was taken advantage of by President William Green. On the floor of the convention one union chief after another cited the amount of money spent to organize his craft in the South. In the last 25 years, it was declared, the United Textile Workers had spent \$1,080,000 below the Mason and Dixon line; in the last five years the Machinists had sunk \$330,000, and the Federal Employees about \$600,000, while the United Mine Workers had put \$5,000,000 into Alabama alone. Altogether some eleven organizations had expended nearly three millions of dollars in organization work in the South.

The importance of the southern situation was emphasized by the recent kidnapping of Federation organizers, the visit of President Green to Elizabethton, Tennessee, and the murder of striking workers in Marion, North Carolina. At the convention the delegates listened to a simple moving tale of Miss Margaret Bowen, a textile worker of Elizabethton. The report of the executive council urged all organizations to include in their plans for the coming year definite provisions for work in the South. A resolution was adopted with enthusiasm to call a conference within thirty days after adjournment of representatives from all the internationals to lay out a detailed plan. John P. Burke, of the Pulp and Sulphite Workers, by contributing \$1,000 for his small union, launched a drive for an immediate relief fund to assist the Marion strikers.

The national conference as provided for was held in Washington D. C., on November 14. A five-plank program for organizing the southern workers was adopted. The preamble pointed out that by request of the American Federation of

Labor a resolution had been introduced in the United States Senate, calling for an investigation of the textile industry in the South, on April 29, 1929. The first plank, therefore, urged the adoption of the Wheeler resolution, so that the facts might be available and widely circulated. The second point pledged each international to assign at least one person to help organize its own craftsmen in the South and to assist the United Textile Workers. It recommended that President Green appoint a small committee to assist him in directing the work of the various organizers, and to develop an adequate publicity campaign. The third item called on the state federations and city centrals in the South to throw their resources into the fight. The fourth provided for a financial appeal to the membership of organized labor. The fifth and last demanded that those guilty of the murder of workers in North Carolina be brought to justice.

Following the conference of the leaders of the American Federation of Labor with President Hoover to prevent an industrial depression as an aftermath of the stock-market crash, a statement was issued by the unionists exempting the organizing campaign in the South from the agreed upon general policy of not "rocking the boat."

Five-day Week.—The executive council's report to the Toronto convention predicted that the five-day week would shortly be universal for the building trades unionists. It declared that a survey was being made to secure complete data as to the number of workers already enjoying the shorter work-week.

Union Management Cooperation.—A session of the convention was devoted to a discussion of the merits of union management cooperation. Sir Henry Thornton, president of the Canadian National Railways, and Otto S. Beyer, consulting engineer of the Railway Employees Department, both largely responsible for the plan, delivered extensive addresses followed by talks by a number of union chiefs directly interested—all extolling the scheme, known generally as the Baltimore and Ohio Plan.

Opposition to Labor Party.—President William Green, in a statement which expressed the position of the Federation against a labor party, included these words: "If the time would come when the great congress of labor believed that the best interest of working men and women would be served by the development of a labor party we would not hesitate to face the issue."

Injunctions and Anti-Trust Laws.—The subject of injunction and anti-trust laws was again the occasion for heated debate in the Toronto convention. The following proposals of the executive council carried:

1. That the Executive Council has under consideration and will cause to be presented to the United States Congress a legislative proposal having for its purpose the amending or repealing, or both, of the Sherman, Clayton and like restrictive laws, or such parts thereof, as a further study of this subject will warrant.

2. A bill to be introduced in the United States Congress and designed to prevent the misuse of restraining orders and injunctions in labor disputes.

Old Age Pensions.—The executive council's report came out for "compulsory state laws, requiring a pension commission for every county, paying a pension of at least \$300 annually. We recommend 65 years as the age for applicants." It urged an active campaign. On the floor John P. Frey, secretary of the Metals Trades Department, opposed the recommendation, while Matthew Woll favored it. "The report of the committee was adopted with one dissenting vote."

Tariff Increases.—James Maloney of the Glass Bottle Blowers and Vice-President Matthew Woll stated that the American Wage Earners' Conference, which was agitating for additional tariff protection, did not speak for the American Federation of Labor, but only for the seventeen unions which were affiliated with the Conference. President Green pointed out that "the American Federation of Labor has never committed itself to the support of a protective tariff or free trade. . . . However, the Federation has supported national and international unions when these national and international unions decided that, in the interests of these organizations, certain legislation, certain schedules in the tariff proposals would benefit them either by an increase or a reduction."

Immigration.—The executive council made the following recommendations for further restriction of immigration:

1. That efforts be made to further restrict immigration from the Eastern hemisphere at least one-half.

2. That all countries below the Rio Grande and adjacent islands be placed under a two percent quota, based on the census of 1890.

3. But whatever law is passed it must be accompanied by a provision for the employment of a sufficient number of border patrol to carry out the legislation.

These recommendations were approved by the convention. The resolutions committee also declared for "proper orders supplementing General Order No. 86" of the United States Department of Labor, affecting aliens who cross the border to secure work only in the United States. President Green

reiterated the opposition of the Federation to fingerprinting and compulsory reporting of all aliens already here, but emphasized its desire for registration of all incoming immigrants and the voluntary application by aliens for a registration certificate.

Other Legislative Demands.—Satisfaction was expressed that the Hawes-Cooper convict labor bill had been passed by Congress, and that provisions had been made that eight of the projected 15 cruisers were to be built in government navy yards, with the additional amendment that the articles going into the ships be purchased from private concerns only when they cannot be supplied by the nation's navy yards.

The convention once more called for an active agitation to have the state legislatures declare "yellow dog" contracts illegal, and to adopt laws along the lines of the Wisconsin statute, regulating stringently the private employment agencies. It demanded a shorter Saturday workday for those in government employment and an increase in pay as well for these employees. It urged an adequate accounting system for the Post Office "under which the public welfare activities of the postal service shall not be charged against postal revenues." It declared for preference to American citizens in the Canal Zone and on the Boulder Dam project. In the case of the latter, it also suggested that it be under government control. The delegates came out for complete independence to the Philippine Islands, and an exhaustive inquiry into conditions in Cuba and Porto Rico. On the subject of radio broadcasting and station WCFL of the Chicago Federation of Labor they resolved as follows:

We endorse the efforts of Broadcasting Station WCFL to secure the unlimited use of a radio frequency, with adequate power and time of operation. . . .

We regard it as contrary to the public welfare for the Federal Radio Commission to turn over this important new means of communication to a small group of corporations and metropolitan newspapers to be used in their private interests. . . .

We protest any effort to repeal or to weaken the anti-trust provisions of the present Radio Law of the United States. . . .

International Relations.—James Ramsay MacDonald and his daughter Ishbel addressed the convention. The Prime Minister of Great Britain and the leader of the British Labor Party said, among other things:

I want you to feel that, whether Prime Minister or not, I am still the old workman as I was born. The workman is distinguished neither by the clothes he wears nor by the softness nor the hardness of his hands. The workman is distinguished by his mentality and his point of view upon life.

On our side organized labor is working out a great public philosophy. It is working it out, not by revolutionary means, which are bound to be temporary, but by evolutionary means, which have a chance of being permanent. Outward changes in events created by revolution may give men and classes and sections new power, but no sooner are they enthroned in office than they have to turn back and as responsible rulers face precisely the problems that we are facing in Great Britain today without any preliminary revolution. The revolution we believe in is the revolution of the ballot box, and if you cannot create great mental changes on account of appeals to reason and appeals to moral sense you can make no permanent changes in the social construction of nations.

I have come over as a missionary of peace. And where should I come to receive inspiration for that mission more than to the ranks of labor? . . . in the next war, should there be a next war, death will be dealt out not only on the battlefield, destruction will rise from the bottom of the sea, destruction will descend from the heavens themselves, destruction will meet your wives, your children, your homes. . . . It is the worker's fireside, it is the worker's life, it is the worker's wife and the worker's child that hold a sacred place. When I think of war, when I think of national enmity, when I think of strife, those are the people that come first and bear me companionship in my thoughts.

The Federation voted against affiliation of the United States with the International Labor Office, and continued its own independence of the International Federation of Trade Unions of Amsterdam. The Toronto convention suggested cooperation between the Pan-American Federation of Labor and the Amsterdam international.

Workers' Education.—Spencer Miller, Jr., secretary of the Workers Education Bureau, made his annual address to the assembled delegates. The executive council reported that the workers' education commission appointed by the New Orleans (1928) convention was not ready with its findings. The convention committee on education, however, made the following statement of policy:

The trade union is the household of the wage earner; it is his device; he is responsible for it and to it. For this reason the trade union movement has laid it down as a fundamental principle that the development of the policy of the trade union is a trade union function; it will not surrender the policy-making function to any outside agency.

The Federation and its affiliated unions have given genuine support to workers' education undertakings that have been guided by educational aims. It has opposed the propaganda tendency of some of these undertakings. It has at all times refused to yield its primary function in the execution of policy to any agency.

We find further justification for union control of educational policies in the recent formation of a movement under the leadership of a group to revolutionize the aims and practices of the Federation. This so-called progressive movement seeks to dictate not only educational but also trade union policy. Such an effort by unauthorized groups reverses the very theory of the inherent rights of trade unions to determine their own policy.

Educational Platform.—The committee on education reasserted the following platform of the Federation: better enforcement of the educational laws; wider use of the school plant; reduction in the size of classes; revision of teachers' salary schedules upward; increase of school revenues to maintain and develop public schools; cooperation between boards of education and teachers; tenure of position for teachers during efficiency; sound pension laws; protection of the schools from propaganda and all forms of exploitation; labor representation on school boards; organization of teachers; and opportunity for every child to receive an adequate education. The committee commended the *American Federationist*, the *Weekly News Service*, the *Survey of Business*, the statistical and information service, the library, and the legal information bureau of the Federation.

General.—The executive council was instructed to help bring about a situation whereby "the workers in the Province of Quebec may be given the right to freely join and remain members of the trade unions connected with and having the aid and support of the American Federation of Labor." It was also authorized to assist in the organization of workers in the Virgin Islands. It was urged to push the investigation into the innocence of and to demand the pardon of Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings. The council was, on its own initiative, instructed to continue its study of discrimination against the older worker in industry and formulate remedial plans. Following the speech of C. L. Bodenheimer, National Commander of the American Legion, President Green took pains to say that "we have differed very sharply upon the question of universal conscription." The executive council's report opposed the American Legion's Universal Draft Bill on the grounds that a national strike might be declared a national emergency, too much power was lodged in the president, that only wage earners would be drafted, not wealth, and that a status quo would be established to the disadvantage of the workers.

Jurisdiction.—It was reported that the proposed amalgamation of the Cigarmakers and Tobacco Workers was still pending, and that charters had been issued directly to individual locals of Sleeping Car Porters. The differences between the Teamsters and Railway Clerks were still being ironed out. The convention defeated resolutions to establish either an aircraft or a food department. The standing committee on boycotts was changed to industrial relations. A. F. Whitney, president of the Railroad Trainmen, declared his organization was ready to affiliate, in an address to the convention.

Officers.—With the resignation of Jacob Fischer, and the election of Joseph N. Weber, the officers were: William Green, president; Frank Duffy, first vice-president; T. A. Rickert, second vice-president, Matthew Woll, third vice-president; James Wilson, fourth vice-president; James P. Noonan, fifth vice-president; John Coefield, sixth vice-president; Arthur O. Wharton, seventh vice-president; Joseph N. Weber, eighth vice-president; Martin F. Ryan, treasurer, and Frank Morrison, secretary. Mr. Noonan died in December.

Building Trades Department

Adjustments.—In his report to the Toronto convention of the Building Trades Department, President McSorley pointed out that the building trades unions had increasingly won the five-day week, and had maintained conditions and membership, despite the slump in the industry during the year.

The executive council recommended a reduction of the per capita from three-fourths to one-half cent per member per month. The convention non-concurred. President Hutcheson of the Carpenters thereupon declared that his organization would refuse to pay, and he declined to stand as a vice-president. The Bricklayers continue outside the Department.

The delegates demanded that the jurisdictional claims of certain of the affiliated unions be respected by the Stage Hands. They requested the executive council to continue its efforts to work out a practical scheme to solve the recurrent jurisdictional disputes. They referred a detailed proposition of setting up a legal defense fund to the American Federation of Labor.

They announced their determination to unionize the iron work on the office building in San Francisco of the Shell Oil Company; the construction of the Fox Film Corporation on the western coast; the labor in the studios in Los Angeles; and to continue organizing in Kansas City, and the South.

The convention took to task some of the local building trades councils for seating dual or secession locals, and upheld the contention of the Electrical Workers on their wage scale against the Boston council.

William J. McSorley, elected president of the Lathers, was continued as head of the Department until his successor was chosen.

Metal Trades Department

Trade Union Methods.—In the joint and comprehensive report of officers, James O'Connell, president, and John P. Frey, secretary-treasurer, to the Metal Trades Department convention in Toronto, there is a discussion of trade union methods, excerpts of which follow:

The Legislative Method.—We could not expect to secure any adjustment of the problem created by the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes through negotiations with employers. Neither would it be humanly possible to secure through negotiations with employers those rules and regulations which establish standardized sanitary conditions, the safeguarding of machinery, the proper construction of industrial buildings. We could no more dispose of the problem of workmen's compensation through trade agreements with employers than we could expect through the same source to establish those conditions which regulate the activities of our public schools and make compulsory attendance an invariable rule. Child labor must be regulated by law. "Yellow dog" contracts must be made null and void through the legislative effort.

The Judiciary.—So far as judicial decisions are concerned we are in a less favorable position than before the war. The scope of injunctions has increased to such an extent that trade unionists are now enjoined from protecting their organization from destruction by organized employers, and are also restrained from making any effort to organize the employees of an employer or group of employers who are in opposition. In other respects, the extension of the use of the injunction has bound us hand and foot to face the fury of the employer's opposition.

Unemployment.—The report dwelt at length on the domestic and international causes of unemployment and stressed the American Federation of Labor's demand that real wages "must increase in proportion to man's increasing power to produce," in order to establish a balance between production and consumption. It hailed President Hoover's plan of carrying on public construction work to ward off impending unemployment.

"Yellow Dog" Contracts.—The officers estimated that "there are approximately 1,250,000 of these nefarious instruments in existence."

Organizing Mass Production Plants.—Their report on this point declared:

Unless our international organizations can agree among themselves upon a plan by which a united effort can be made to organize the workers in these mass production plants, it would appear to be almost useless to attempt organization. . . . We are not making any progress . . . under our present methods.

Government Employees.—The convention demanded that the United States government employ American citizens at prevailing rates of pay, with a Saturday half holiday, and under adequate retirement provisions, on the Canal Zone. They called for the prevailing rates of pay in all navy yards and devoted considerable time to a discussion of how to fix wages in them. They protested strongly against the meagre retirement allowance for civilian employees in government service. They once more urged the executive council to prevent the Personnel Classification Board from including the crafts of the Department under its jurisdiction. They also referred to the executive the problem of formulating a plan to organize the Pullman Company employees.

Railway Employees' Department

Attack on Company Unions.—The employees of the Central Vermont Railroad at St. Albans, Vermont, were given the choice of joining the System Federation of the Railway Employees' Department and its affiliated unions or the non-union Central Vermont Workmen's Benefit Association. They voted overwhelmingly in favor of the trade unions. In August, 1928, President William Green and President A. O. Wharton of the Machinists conferred with President Atterbury of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. The union leaders were definitely assured that no objections, discriminations or discharges would follow attempts to unionize.

The Railway Labor Executives' Association, with D. B. Robertson of the Firemen as chairman, and E. J. Manion, of the Railroad Telegraphers, secretary, met in Cleveland in April, 1929, and formulated a three-plank program:

1. Strengthening the Railway Labor Act so as to provide means for definitely enforcing the right of employees to bargain collectively with the railroads through representatives of their own choice.

2. Protection of employees in railroad consolidations: (a) compensation for loss of employment; and (b) compensation for removal of homes.

3. Stabilization of employment: (a) one day's rest in seven; (b) maximum 8-hour day; (c) maximum five-day week and 6-hour day; (d) shortening of hours without reduction in pay; and (e) higher rates for overtime to discourage overworking of a few.

The executive council of the Railway Employees' Department recently set up a Railway Research Foundation to make a survey of the cooperative management plan, and also

to conduct scientific investigations and surveys of any plans, programs, policies and similar undertakings by organized labor in the interest of industrial and human welfare and public benefit, particularly in the railway industry.

Otto S. Beyer was elected managing director.

A. F. OF L. INTERNATIONAL UNIONS

Bakery and Confectionery Workers.

Organizing Drive.—At their triennial convention in St. Louis, September, 1929, the Bakers made plans to organize the unorganized ice cream workers, the miscellaneous and factory help, the cracker baking industry, and all open-shop districts. They came out for closer cooperation with their sister unions and for the formation of a Food Department in the American Federation of Labor. They declared for a militant fight against the Amalgamated Food Workers and the communists, whom they specifically attacked for their Palestine attitude. They thanked the *Forward* and the two St. Louis papers, the *Arbeiter Zeitung* and *Labor*, for their aid to the union. The convention endorsed old age pension legislation and adopted a number of constitutional changes, among them, that strike votes must be taken of shop workers involved as well as by the local union; that the membership must decide by referendum whether to increase the per capita or reduce the sick benefit—a similar situation as to Death and Sick Benefit Funds exists in other unions; and that local unions must become really responsible for the control of sick benefits.

The officers' report indicated a stable membership despite the increasing trustification and mechanization of the industry. It showed that the six-year fight with the Ward Baking Company had left the union unimpaired, while their opponent could not claim as much. It also pointed out that in three years, known official shortages of local union officers amounted to \$10,702.59.

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers

Elimination of Communists.—The fight of the left wingers and communists against the leadership and majority came to a head in the convention, May 1-11, 1929, in New York City, on the issue of amalgamation of locals 24 and 43. The administration policy won by an overwhelming vote. The officers followed their advantage in New York by attacks in Chicago, Boston and Minneapolis, and claimed that they had eliminated the communists, who in turn fought back through the Needle Trades Workers' Industrial Union. The administration also demanded that *The Headgear Worker* "reflect the approved policies of the organization and of the general labor movement on all organization and trade questions," and thus disassociated J. M. Budish, editor. The delegates came

out for the amalgamation of all cap locals in New York, and vigorous organization work in the leading centers. They favored the formation of an American Labor Party, the release of political prisoners throughout the world including Soviet Russia, immediate release of Mooney and Billings, recognition of Soviet Russia, and voted sums in support of progressive and radical causes and institutions. They re-elected Max Zaritsky as president, J. Roberts as secretary-treasurer, and made Max Zuckerman, honorary general secretary.

Coopers

Uphill Fight.—On September 1, 1903, there were 162 locals in the Coopers' International Union, with a membership of 7,927. Twenty-six years later, at the September, 1929, convention, there were but 37 locals and 715 members. The offices of president and secretary-treasurer were united and James J. Doyle was elected to them. Prohibition was denounced. An effort to except new locals from the Death Benefit Fund was voted down.

Federal Employees

Substantial Membership Increase.—Of all civil service men the Federal Employees have made one of the largest gains in membership during the last few years. The convention in Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, September, 1929, received greetings from the president of the United States. In his report, Luther C. Steward declared that the signing of the Welch salary increase bill was the outstanding achievement of the organization. The delegates emphasized the following issues at their latest gathering:

Further salary legislation to include a minimum wage of \$1,500 a year for all full-time adult Federal employees; establishment of a central personnel agency and the institution of a Civil Service Court of Appeals; increased retirement annuities and provision for optional retirement at a lower age; granting of 30 days' annual leave as a matter of right, with 15 days' sick leave cumulative up to 120 days; one day's rest in seven; shorter work week by extending Saturday half holidays throughout the year; abolition of average restriction in appropriation bills; and elimination of speeding up practices in the government service.

Fire Fighters

Advantages of Organization.—President Fred W. Baer, editor of the *International Fire Fighter*, in recounting the

achievements of the union during the last eleven years in the July, 1929, issue of the magazine, pointed out:

In July, 1918, a few cities enjoyed the two-platoon system; others had one day off in three. . . . Some cities paid \$1,400 a year and others, for the same work, paid only \$900 per year and in many cases less.

Today the two-platoon system is a state or provincial law in practically every state and province in the United States and Canada. Salaries have been doubled in practically every city. In many cities the salary is \$2,500 per year, and the average salary paid to the fire fighters is \$2,200 per year, taking every city and town into consideration. To obtain these working conditions and salaries, organized unity and effort have been the essential factors.

A great deal could also be written on the improvements made in the pension and civic service systems, which have improved the morale and efficiency of the fire departments throughout the country.

In welcoming the delegates to Milwaukee, September 10-15, 1928, the local fire chief declared that the socialist city had the lowest fire insurance rates, had put the pension fund in a solvent condition and had one of the cleanest merit systems. The convention authorized the fullest cooperation with all agencies looking to fire prevention. It endorsed the Minneapolis bill which would exempt firemen from responsibility for accidents while fighting fires. It demanded the eight-hour day, the elimination of all merit system abuses, and the continuation of pensions as against group insurance. It increased the per capita to international headquarters.

Flint Glass Workers

Labor-displacing Machinery.—In his remarks to the convention at Toledo, July 1-11, 1929, President William P. Clarke discussed the effects of machinery:

. . . .when I look over the glass industry of the United States, and recall that the Window Glass Workers, which were once the pride of the trade union movement in America and then recall that that organization disbanded on the 4th day of last July as a result of machinery taking the place of all their members until their national president wrote them saying that they could work for any wages they wished, and four groups of men operating four factories on a cooperative basis sold their product just so they could get wages from their toil, and yet they were required to give up these four factories and see their trade pass out. When I recall the situation confronting our sister organization, the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association, where 97 percent of their production is made either by semi-automatic or automatic machines, and their membership has gone down until they have found it necessary to take in laborers in order to retain an organization, and now very small in numbers as compared with former days, then I ask you, is it better for us, responsible officers of this institution, to remain quiet and not present you the facts as we understand them and know them, and let a similar fate be yours, or is it better that we bring the facts to your attention in order

that you be made familiar with them and act upon them? There are several things affecting the industrial situation: mass production, machinery, importation, women in industry—and the last is not to be frowned at.

Speaking about production, that you may get this in a way that you will understand it, the machine that has been spoken of, the Owens Bottle Machine, produces half pint catsup bottles at the rate of 120 a minute, 7,200 an hour, 172,000 in 24 hours, and goes on doing this six days and six nights a week.

President Clarke was not the only union leader who raised the spectre of the labor-displacing machine, in reports to conventions, or in his official journal.

The convention demanded an American valuation of imported articles. It decided to confer full power to settle on its conference committees.

Ladies' Garment Workers

Reconstruction.—The delegates to the special convention in Cleveland, December 2-10, 1929, met in a victorious and jubilant mood, elated over their gains in the cloak and dress markets of New York, the revival of the union, and the elimination of left wing and communist elements. Speakers and telegrams very warmly commended Benjamin Schlesinger for his leadership. He in turn praised Vice-President David Dubinsky, who acted as president when Schlesinger fell ill early in 1929 and had to absent himself from his post for a time.

In order to clear up the very heavy indebtedness hanging over the union the delegates voted for an assessment of \$5 annually for two years, and for consolidation, so far as possible, of their weeklies into monthlies. To develop more participation by the rank and file they declared for a referendum system of electing officers and the general executive board, who were, however, to be nominated by the convention; and for proportional representation of locals in joint boards and at conventions. They called for numerous organization drives, the most important of which was that to unionize the dressmakers of New York City, which effort, already started under the leadership of Julius Hochman, had borne some fruit during 1929. The delegates repeated the union's position in favor of a labor party, against fascism, and for old age pension legislation. The veteran Abraham Baroff refused to stand for renomination, and David Dubinsky was selected as secretary. Benjamin Schlesinger was unanimously nominated for president. The organization made its traditional generous contributions to progressive causes.

Lathers

New Officers.—The convention of the Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers in St. Louis, September, 1929, unanimously elected William J. McSorley as president, and by a vote of 83 to 39, replaced A. D. Yoder by Terry Ford of New York, as secretary-treasurer. It increased the compensation for the two officers from \$6,000 to \$10,000, and from \$5,000 to \$7,500, in line with the policy of many other unions in the last several years. The Theatrical Stage Employees, for example, in their Detroit meeting of June, 1928, by a roll-call vote of 510 to 177, raised the pay of their president to \$20,000 a year.

The delegates listened to addresses from representatives of the plasterers' and metal lath manufacturers' associations. They demanded that their jurisdictional rights to celotex be respected by the Carpenters. They ordered all locals to affiliate with state councils, to report full details to headquarters when fining members, not to accept dues from those outside their jurisdictions, not to allow the formation of clubs dealing with union business, and to accept legitimate transfers under pain of suspension. The lathers' convention adopted a ringing resolution to organize the country and Canada, and to issue charters only to locals covering the entire craft; it decided to levy an assessment to allow every local to be represented at conventions; and to hold a referendum on setting up an old age benefit fund. The report of the secretary showed that according to the funeral benefit fund records, the average age at death of members had considerably lengthened. In 1904 it was 43.73, in 1908 it was 40.79, while in 1928 it was 51.83, and in 1929, 50.93.

Letter Carriers

Wages, Hours, and Conditions.—Bands, speeches, a parade, and social events featured the convention in Minneapolis, August 26-31, attended by 1,400 delegates. Some 2,300 resolutions were acted on. The convention declared for reclassification of salaries upward; a shorter Saturday work-day and a five-day week; better retirement provisions; opportunities for promotion; protection for substitutes; no speed-up; freedom of political activity; and improvement of the service in dozens of ways. It defeated by a very close vote a proposition for a retirement plan for the union's employees and officers, and rejected a resolution demanding a pardon for Mooney and Billings.

William E. Kelly, former national president, and regarded as one of their staunchest friends in Congress by the Letter Carriers, died on September 19, in Brooklyn, New York.

Metal Polishers

Convention.—In a table showing the amounts paid in strike benefits by the Metal Polishers from 1896 to 1929, the years 1921, 1917, 1915 and 1904 stand out. Against \$112,645 in 1921, only \$8,550 was paid in 1929. Death benefits, on the other hand, were \$17,450 in 1921 and \$17,600 in 1929. The convention decided, among other things, to increase the assessment to make the Death Benefit Fund solvent. It urged an investigation by the executive of group insurance, and preparations for the five-day week fight. It called for organization work and a retention board to be chosen by locals to follow up those arrears in dues. It came out for old age pension laws, and reelected W. W. Britton, president-secretary-treasurer.

Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers

Difficulties.—The fight of the defeated candidates in the election of international officers was, in the words of President James B. Rankin, "the means of nearly completely destroying the organization." A second retarding factor was the reduction of per capita tax. The Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, however, paid on 4,000 members to the A. F. of L. in 1929, as against 4,500 in 1928, and in their convention at Salt Lake City in August, took steps to organize the Ruth, Kimberly and McGill, Nevada, district. The delegates favored an increased tariff on manganese, and group insurance for their locals, subject to a referendum.

Miners

Internal Fight in Illinois.—On October 10, 1929, International President John L. Lewis issued an order revoking the charter of District No. 12, with jurisdiction over the Illinois bituminous miners. He charged that the deposed officers and executive had refused to remove one of their number upon request of the international executive board; had tried to parcel out locals of a sub-district after it had been taken over by the international; had condoned libel suits of \$500,000 against international officials; had issued the *Illinois Miner*, the weekly edited by Oscar Ameringer and charged with slandering the heads of the international; and had retained an extravagant and excessive staff. The following day President Harry Fishwick, Secretary Walter Nesbit and their associates of District No. 12, secured a temporary injunction, restraining the international from putting the order into

effect, and maintaining the status quo. Hearings were begun before Judge Norman L. Jones of the Sangamon County Circuit Court and on January 23, 1930, he denied the plea of the International officials to dissolve the temporary injunction. Thereupon Lewis appealed to the Appellate Court.

The *Illinois Miner* spoke for the deposed officers of District No. 12, the *United Mine Workers Journal* for the administration of the international. The former first mentioned the oncoming fight by demanding that the international organizers sent into Illinois be put into lost territory, and not kept in the only live bituminous district of the union. Provisional President Jones of sub-district 9, taken over by the international, and non-resident officials, had attacked the officers of District No. 12. The *Illinois Miner* declared that the deposed officials had refused to ask Governor L. L. Emmerson to reappoint A. D. Lewis, a brother of John L. Lewis, as Director of the Illinois Department of Mines and Minerals, and gave that as the reason for the presence of the international organizers and their growing attacks. Some months later it reported that A. D. Lewis had resigned. As for John L. Lewis' charges, the Illinois officers stated that they refused to give up their autonomy in the state and become vassals to a man whom they held responsible for the destruction of the union.

The Illinois officers further declared that when Lewis first became president, there was a tax-paying membership of 384,617 in the bituminous districts alone, but that in 1929 there were only 98,039 left, of which 53,088 were in Illinois and 13,644 in Canada. They charged the international president with having stolen elections, with excluding and slugging delegates, with looting the district office, with autocracy, and with a determination to get control of the treasury and properties of District No. 12. They said: "Lewisism must be killed before it kills us."

Through the *United Mine Workers Journal*, edited by Ellis Searles, the international officials replied in vitriolic language. They held that the opposition in Illinois was part of a vicious scheme of Frank Farrington, whom they accused of "selling out" for \$75,000 to a coal company, to destroy the union; and that Fishwick and his associates sought to prevent the international "from exposing the graft, corruption, mismanagement, misappropriation of funds and general crookedness in Illinois." They said that hundreds of thousands of dollars were spent on the *Illinois Miner*, toward which they could not find words strong enough to express their hatred, and that the Illinois local unions were adopting resolutions of confi-

dence in the international. They felt certain that just as the courts had upheld them in July, 1929, in dissolving an injunction of the deposed officers of Sub-district 9, so they would also, in the case of District No. 12.

National Miners' Union.—Both the Lewis administration and the Fishwick opposition did all in their power to undermine the efforts of the National Miners' Union, affiliated with the Trade Union Unity League and the Red International of Labor Unions, to secure a foothold in Illinois and elsewhere.

General.—The *United Mine Workers Journal* reported some gains in organizing drives in northern and southern West Virginia and Kentucky. John Boylan was elected president of District No. 1, while former president Cappellini received less than one-third the victor's vote.

Musicians

Fight Against Talkies.—The determination and bitterness of the organized Musicians, in their fight against the talkies, was expressed in the following resolution, adopted in executive session at their Denver convention, May, 1929:

Resolved, That this convention instructs the international executive board to continue the propaganda pursued by the president's office against "canned music," and use all methods and moneys necessary to enlarge same, and spare no expense to acquaint the public with all anti-cultural activities to mechanize the art of music. All expenses for the propaganda to be defrayed from the theatre defense fund.

The theatre tax fund amounted to \$484,844.61 on March 31, 1929. President Joseph N. Weber indicated that the vitaphone was controlled by Warner Brothers, the movietone by William Fox, and the photophone by a group of four interests, with the giant electric companies on the inside.

Besides debating at length every phase of this fight against the talkies, the delegates considered wage rates, appeals, working conditions and local situations. They raised the salary of their president, who has been elected to the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, to \$20,000.

Operating Engineers

International Supervision Over Locals.—Writing in the July, 1929, issue of the official magazine, President Arthur M. Huddell explained why the International forced supervision in some cases, and amalgamation in others:

This local union refused to take in members and organize the work in their jurisdiction. They practiced the vicious permit system, which is forbidden by our constitution, permitting men to work and bumping them off when work slacked up. A dual movement was started consisting of these men who were used under the permit system.

Our general executive board has amalgamated local unions. . . . It has been very hard to have some of our old reactionary members understand what is taking place in the industrial field . . . they still want to remain about 25 years behind the times.

The international officers have contended with dual movements, court fights, and local opposition, but have rigorously maintained their program.

At the convention in Buffalo, September 10-14, 1928, the delegates ordered locals to accept members whether some engineers are out of work or not. The Steam Shovel and Dredgmen were amalgamated in 1927, and the name was changed to International Union of Operating Engineers, with additional jurisdiction authorized by the American Federation of Labor covering marine engineers. Following the deaths of vice-president Michael Murphy and C. F. Buckland, William P. Walsh and W. M. Welsh were made members of the general executive board. Headquarters were moved to Washington, D. C.

Painters

Election of L. P. Lindelof as President.—With the death of George F. Hedrick on December 20, 1928, the general assembly of the Painters, held in Denver, September, 1929, had to elect a successor. It unanimously picked L. P. Lindelof, formerly of Chicago. The nominating speech of Christian M. Madsen, as indicating the spirit of the founders of the American labor movement, deserves quotation in part:

There are two main factors that make a labor organization strong and effective: One is a progressive, militant, fighting spirit among the membership, and the other is a feeling of responsibility among those who are chosen as executive officers—a spirit of militant idealism at the bottom and wise, constructive leadership at the top.

When I look back upon a membership of more than 35 years in our Brotherhood, I am proud of the fact that we have been able to increase the wages, to shorten the hours and better the conditions of the men in our trade; but I am still more proud of the fact that we have helped to strengthen the labor movement in general and secure the same benefits for men and women in other walks of life.

Wherever there is a Building Trades Council, a City Central Body, a State Federation of Labor, everywhere where the battle of labor is fought the painter is on the firing line. This is true not only in the city of Chicago, or the city of Denver, it is true not only of the United States and Canada, but in Denmark, in Sweden, in Germany, in Great Britain, everywhere in the

civilized world where the workers have joined hands in an effort to bring about better conditions for themselves and their families.

Among others who addressed the delegates, John Fitzpatrick of the Chicago Federation of Labor stressed the fight of Station WCFL, and William E. Rodriguez discussed the relations of the courts to labor.

The delegates decided that regulating the use of the Spray Painting Machine was better than fighting it further. They declared for the 7-hour day, now that they had about conquered the five-day week, a move in which the Painters led: for social insurance to cover unemployment, sickness and old age, and for an Aircraft Department in the American Federation of Labor. They voted against recognition of Soviet Russia, and contributed \$250 to Tom Mooney's defense. They demanded that the health of the painter be safeguarded and compensated by law and approved clean-up campaigns to provide work during seasonal let-downs. The controversy between New York District 9 and the Building Trades Council was referred to the executive for immediate action.

Paper Makers

Retain Referendum System.—After considerable debate the convention of March, 1929, held in Quebec, decided to continue the referendum system of electing officers and passing on legislation. Provisions were added for safeguarding and expediting action by the rank and file. Two elections were necessary before all the officers were chosen. Matthew J. Burns is now president, Arthur Huggins, secretary, and Frank P. Barry, first vice-president. The Paper Makers have been making a fight for vacations with pay to be included in their collective agreements.

Post Office Clerks

Paramount Issue.—Like the convention of the Letter Carriers, that of the Post Office Clerks, held in New York City, September 1-7, 1929, was the occasion for a banquet, speeches, and business. About 8,000 visitors and delegates attended. Charles F. Trotter, of the Post Office Service Division, stated the case for the 44-hour week, the paramount issue, as the Clerks see it:

In eight years the output of the clerical group has increased 31 percent; or, putting it another way, 78,000 clerks and supervisory employees in first and second class offices are now producing at a rate which would require 102,000 according to 1921 standards.

The convention elected President Leo E. George to the congress of the Postal, Telegraph and Telephone International, after Ludwig Maier, secretary, addressed it. The delegates designated the following as major issues:

Reclassification of salaries, seniority, postal policy, liberalized retirement, longevity pay, automatic special clerk promotions, elimination of speed-up systems and improved substitute employment conditions.

Besides adopting changes in the Sick and Death Benefit Funds, they instructed the executive to consider the feasibility of transferring the union's insurance from a private company to the Union Labor Life Insurance Company.

Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers

Problems of Organizing.—John P. Burke, president-secretary, in his report to the Montreal convention, March, 1929, discussed the question of organizing the unorganized:

The amount of organizing work done by an international union cannot always be measured by the number of new local unions. We have done an immense amount of educational work among the unorganized workers. Meetings have been held, vast quantities of literature have been distributed, the workers have been canvassed in their homes. This work, if persistently followed up, will reap for us a rich harvest in the future.

The convention took action to conduct drives in Wisconsin and New York City. It came out for recognition of Soviet Russia, release of Mooney and Billings, and for the five-day week. After listening to President Matthew Woll of the Union Labor Life Insurance Company, who addressed nearly every union convention he could make the last year, the delegates took no action looking toward group insurance.

Railway Carmen

Group Insurance Referendum.—The general executive board submitted to a referendum vote in March, 1928, a proposition of group insurance in the Union Labor Life Insurance Company, which was defeated. At the September convention in Kansas City, the officers pressed the plan, won the delegates, and had it referred to another vote of the rank and file. The resolution called for an increase in the per capita tax of \$1.00, a premium of \$1.30, and a benefit of \$1,000.

President Ryan's Report.—The treasurer of the American Federation of Labor and president of the Railway Carmen for 20 years, Martin F. Ryan, in his report, discussed the

difficulties of organizing in the "Jazz Period." He cited the fear of the average shopman, accentuated by widespread unemployment, the maneuvers of employers with their welfare plans, the increased productivity of the worker and the prosperity of the companies, and the distractions, such as automobiles, movies, radios and jazz. He pointed out the unwillingness of some managements to set up Adjustment Boards under the Railway Labor Act. He stressed the five-day week, group insurance—for which he is a strong advocate, union management cooperation, the newly organized Railway Research Foundation, the weekly, *Labor*, and the fight with Brookwood.

Canadian Headquarters.—The convention decided to establish a branch headquarters in Montreal. There has been a steadily growing membership in Canada. The delegates continued the ten cents per capita to the women's auxiliary, the Loyal Star. They indorsed withdrawal from Brookwood, limited apprentices, re-subscribed to *Labor*, called for annual vacations with pay, urged a militant fight to improve the wages and conditions of coach cleaners, and unanimously turned down a resolution calling for amalgamation.

The address of Conrad H. Mann, president of the local Chamber of Commerce and of the Associated Industries of Missouri, was significant. He said, in part:

I have always maintained that the greatest good that has ever come to mankind, the most constructive things that have ever been done by the great mass of the people . . . have come through the American Federation of Labor and the leadership of Samuel Gompers.

Railway Clerks

Successful Organizing Drive.—On September 19 President George M. Harrison reported that in less than six months the organization had added 13,691 new and reinstated members. Over 1,500 were reported as having joined in October. The new administration kept up a steady drive for membership and militancy.

The Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks took an advanced step in the American labor movement by calling a Conference on Organization, to which it invited, besides its own officers and representatives, outstanding leaders and students of trade unionism. For four days, starting on December 20, 1929, William Green, A. J. Muste, Frank Rosenblum of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, William Leis-

erson, labor arbitrator, Donald Richberg, railroad labor attorney, Herbert S. Bigelow, together with the heads of the union, led in the discussion.

Railway Mail Association

Legislative Program.—In harmony with the gatherings of the Letter Carriers and the Post Office Clerks, the convention of the Railway Mail Association, held in Columbus, September 3-6, adopted a somewhat similar legislative program, which emphasized:

A more liberal retirement law, a shorter Saturday workday with elimination of deficiencies, a higher classification of trunk line clerks in charge, and better conditions for substitutes.

The delegates decided after considerable debate not to push the salary question in view of the heavy postal deficit. They pointed out, however, that the Post Office was not credited with free and welfare services and that these should properly be charged up. They adopted several changes in the Beneficiary Fund and urged departmental reform as to seniority.

Street and Electric Railway Employees

Support of Mitten-Mahon Agreement.—After referring to "criticism from a certain class of self appointed would-be world saviors," President William D. Mahon, in his report to the Seattle gathering, September 9-16, stoutly defended the Mitten-Mahon cooperative arrangement, and the convention backed him up. An authorized convention committee also wrote a group of New Orleans labor men that the union's delegates resented the "unwarranted criticism" of their chief on the score of his tentative agreement to settle the street carmen's strike. After listening to a Catholic bishop, and despite the fact that many in the union are Catholics, the convention requested the American Federation of Labor to assist in destroying the Catholic Union of Quebec.

Speaking of organizing the unorganized, President Mahon said: "There are some who imagine that organizing the unorganized worker is an easy proposition and we are criticised by some because we do not, more rapidly, extend the organization to the unorganized Systems." He cited the fact that in Indianapolis two organizers had served prison terms of 90 days, and were arrested over forty times, and that in three cities alone the union had spent \$118,000 to get a foothold, excluding officers' salaries and expenses. He wrote that the

organization had pushed the basic eight-hour day, one day's rest in seven and an annual vacation period with pay. The convention declared for old age pensions by the companies and by the state, arbitration and mediation wherever possible, and limited term service for federal judges. The delegates made several changes in the constitution on the qualifications of delegates to conventions, procedure of local elections, arrearages of divisions, and in the matter of sick benefits.

Typographical Union

Four-Year Term for Officers.—By the close vote of 114 to 99, the delegates to the annual meeting of the Typographical Union, Denver, September 9-14, approved a constitutional change calling for a four-year instead of a two-year term for their international officers. They turned down New York City's proposal that no wage scale be fixed for a period longer than one year. They voted full rights to the members of the expelled mailers' locals. They referred an exhaustive report and resolutions dealing therewith, on the spread of chain newspapers, to the 1930 convention. They came out for the five-day week, which Chicago subsequently followed up with a contract calling for its gradual introduction. They declared for a vigorous organizing drive on the basis of the questionnaires on the number of non-unionists in each jurisdiction. They provided for several commissions: (1) to establish proper representation of locals in conventions; (2) to draft a course on higher technical studies and business administration; and (3) to investigate the desirability of removing the headquarters.

The convention unanimously refused to censure William Green for his radio talk under the auspices of the unfair Crowell Publications; it demanded a pardon for Mooney and Billings, and condemned the use of the militia in Tennessee. Speaking against the resolution of George Koop, the veteran socialist of Chicago, which in substance called for a labor party, President Charles P. Howard said:

If my colleague from Chicago will permit, the chair might remark, without fear of successful contradiction, that when any labor government in the world establishes any better conditions for their workers than we have established for ourselves under our purely economical form of organization, that it will be an excellent argument for us to adopt that policy.

The report of the secretary-treasurer, Woodruff Randolph, contained extensive tables, charts, graphs, and details, on the manifold activities of the well-established Typographical Union, and about its individual members.

Upholsterers

Addition of Secretary-Treasurer.—Besides reelecting William Kohn as president for his fifth term, the convention in St. Louis, June, 1929, created the position of general secretary-treasurer, to which it elected George V. Fay, of New York. The report of the president indicated that the union had in 21 months spent \$42,505.32 for organizing and adjustments, that it had increasingly gained the five day week, and had maintained conditions and its membership, despite unfavorable business conditions. The convention spent considerable time revamping the constitution and planning organization work in different sections. It changed the title of the organization to Upholsterers', Carpet and Linoleum Mechanics', International Union of North America.

CONFERENCE FOR PROGRESSIVE LABOR ACTION

The Challenge to Progressives.—The Conference for Progressive Labor Action (C. P. L. A.) was founded by a group of trade unionists at a convention in New York City, May 25-26, 1929. Three elements were responsible for its formation: (1) the heads of Brookwood Labor College; (2) the officers and directors of *Labor Age*, a monthly magazine; and (3) various individual trade unionists and labor sympathizers.

The New Orleans convention of the American Federation of Labor, November 19-28, 1928, upheld the condemnation by the executive council of Brookwood. A. J. Muste, chairman of the Brookwood faculty, wrote in the January, 1929, number of *Labor Age*:

The present administration of the A. F. of L. is hostile to genuine workers' education . . . militant progressivism in the American labor movement hardly exists today . . . workers' education can exist and flourish only if such a militant progressivism, a movement of those elements in the trade unions and other labor bodies who will not and cannot commit themselves either to the present A. F. of L. administration and its policies, or to the Workers' (Communist) Party and its present policies, exists to back up workers' education, and to use it as an instrument in its progress.

Mr. Muste went on to outline a detailed program for militant progressives. He was largely instrumental in organizing preliminary conferences and writing the platform of the progressive labor body.

For some seven years *Labor Age* had stressed various items of such a platform. It had offered its columns to Mr. Muste, vice-president of its publication society, and to those individual trade unionists who called themselves progressives. It

published, therefore, as an editorial statement, in its February, 1929, issue, a challenge to "the honest, militant, progressive laborite," summarized and in toto as follows:

1. Organize the masses of unskilled and semi-skilled.
2. Appeal primarily to workers instead of to employers in organizing efforts.
3. Expose and fight National Civic Federation influence in the labor movement.
4. Insist that union membership shall not be denied because of race, or political, social, economic or religious views of affiliations.
5. Fight for the right of a minority or opposition to exist in the movement.
6. Fight injunctions and yellow dog contracts.
7. Campaign for social insurance.
8. Encourage cooperative enterprises.
9. Emphasize labor's goal as a social order controlled by workers.
10. Work out effective methods of collective bargaining and of union control, without sacrificing the union's independence.
11. Struggle for the five-day week, higher wages and better conditions.
12. Advocate recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States.
13. Work to make the American labor movement anti-imperialistic and anti-militaristic.
15. Develop a labor party based on mass organization of industrial workers.
16. Support a broad workers' education movement based on progressive concepts.

The Challenge to Progressives

We believe that the situation which exists in the American Labor movement today is a challenge to all honest, militant, progressive elements—to all those who are in accord neither with Communist tactics nor with reactionary elements and policies which so largely control the labor movement—a challenge to clarify their thinking, define their purposes, and organize their efforts.

Seven or eight years ago there were militant, progressive elements in the American Labor movement that had to be reckoned with. They dominated, or at least exercised important power in many city central bodies and state federations, and international unions such as those of the needle trades, the miners, machinists and others. They engaged in aggressive efforts to organize the workers in the basic industries, as witness the historic packing house and steel campaigns. They explored the possibilities of independent political action for labor. They even carried resolutions for the nationalization of railroads, for example, in A. F. of L. conventions, despite determined official opposition. They founded the workers' education movement. They thought of the labor movement not only as an instrument to get immediate gains such as higher wages, shorter hours and better conditions of work for the toilers, but as a great social force having for its ultimate goal the achievement of the good life for all, in a world controlled by the workers.

Today this militant labor progressivism has ceased to exist as a movement, as an effective influence in the American scene. We do not enter here on the reasons for this change or an analysis of the extent to which lefts or rights or progressives themselves may be responsible for the present situation. Suffice it to repeat that that situation is a challenge to honest, militant elements which cannot and must not be evaded.

When we contemplate the American scene today, what is it that we find?

The Unorganized

Even the most liberal estimates do not account for more than perhaps four million organized workers in the United States today. Something under three million are in the A. F. of L., the remainder in independent unions, chiefly the transportation

brotherhoods on the railroads and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

In Australia over 50 per cent of all the employed population is in unions. In Austria it is over 40 per cent; in countries like Sweden, Great Britain and Germany, it is about 35 per cent; in the United States, barely 12 per cent. If one takes only workers employed in occupations usually considered as organizable into consideration, the percentage in unions in the United States is still but one in five.

The trade unions in the United States have been barely holding their own in membership during the past few years, though it has been a period of relative prosperity, when ordinarily trade union figures are expected to mount.

The American labor movement has suffered serious losses at certain strategic points. One thinks of the steel strike of 1919, and the breakdown of the effort to organize the steel industry; the routing of the textile workers from the southern field in the 1920-22 period; the breaking up of the railroad shopmen's organizations on many important roads following the 1922 strike; the practical breakup of some of the important needle trades' unions; and most recently the losses endured by the United Mine Workers of America which only a few years ago seemed the very backbone of the American labor movement.

While trade unionism is relatively strong in the building trades and printing trades, the transportation services on the railroads, and some miscellaneous, chiefly skilled, trades, it is weak or well-nigh non-existent in textiles, steel, automobiles, oil, rubber, public utilities, manufacturing of electrical supplies, the metal trades generally, mining—in other words, in our great basic industries, among the masses of unskilled and semi-skilled workers.

We are the only important industrial country where labor has not developed to considerable strength its own political party.

The consumers' cooperative movement is relatively undeveloped.

The same is true of workers' education.

Social insurance against sickness, old age, unemployment, etc., is also in a most backward state, and in the United States is for the most part in the hands of employers instead of in the hands of unions or the state or both, as in other industrial countries.

The labor movement suffers morally and spiritually, and not only in loss of membership here and there. The complaint that members do not attend meetings, that the old fire and enthusiasm are gone is common, and by no means only in radical circles. Daniel Tobin, President of the Teamsters' Union, a conservative trade unionist and until recently the treasurer of the A. F. of L. recently indicated in a public address that the labor movement was at a lower ebb today than when he first joined it twenty or more years ago.

Bitter factional strife has been raging in some unions. In the conflict anything seems "to go," there are no longer any "rules of the game," which anyone feels bound to observe. All energy must be concentrated in destroying the other faction root and branch, regardless of whether union itself survives or perishes in the process.

Furthermore, whether consciously and deliberately or not, the trade unions seem to rest satisfied to an increasing extent with organizing small sections of the skilled workers, a sort of "aristocracy of labor," and leaving the great masses in basic industries to the company unions and open shoppers.

The Facts of the Situation

A student of the labor movement, in a recent work which is in the main an apology for pure and simple trade unionism, and a criticism of the activities of radicals and intellectuals in the American labor movement nevertheless concludes his appraisal of the situation in the movement today by calling attention to the "psychology of a big majority of its leaders today—a curious blending of 'defeatism' with complacency. Every union leader admits that the organization of labor must be expanded into the basic industries—steel, machinery, automobiles, electrical supplies, etc. But at the first encounter with the difficulties of the task—difficulties which are admittedly enormous, made up as they are of the employers' active opposition and of the inertia on the workers' part begotten by the Coolidge prosperity and by 'welfare capitalism'—or in many cases even before such an actual encounter, union officers and organizers lose their heart for the task, and rarely proceed beyond expressions of good intentions. Thereupon,—having gone through the motions of organizing in new fields, and thus eased their organizer's conscience—the same leaders settle down to a smug survey of the well oiled machinery of their little organizations, which suggests at least a suspicion that these leaders might not entirely welcome too many new members, whose alignment in the politics of the union would at best be uncertain."

Along with this goes a growing tendency to try to build unions by appeal first to the employer, "selling" trade unionism to him, persuading him perhaps that trade unions can be more useful to him in "securing production" than company unions, instead of appealing in the first instance to the workers, persuading them to "recognize the union" as the instrument by which they may protect their rights and secure material and spiritual gains. The union is now commended to the employer as a personnel agency rather than to the workers as a fighting organization, in contrast with the pre-war militant policy of Samuel Gompers himself.

These facts we have set down here as we see them, not in order to suggest an easy, off-hand, indiscriminate condemnation of trade union leadership, not to hint indirectly at praise or blame for what has happened, not in order to cry down the American labor movement in comparison with the movement in other countries. We realize that the American movement is in a measure the product of the conditions under which it has developed and had to operate, the same as the movement of any other country. We are not blind to the achievements and the glories of its past. We simply believe that loyalty to the movement and its fundamental aims requires that we see the facts of the situation today as straight as we can.

Over against a labor movement in the condition which we have tried to picture stands American capitalism, the wealthiest and most powerful in the world, American "big business" powerfully entrenched, feeling secure and insolent as it goes forth to conquer economic power throughout the entire world. No labor movement has a more formidable foe to grapple with.

Save in small areas of our industrial life, the elementary right of workers to organize in bona fide trade unions is not in practice recognized by American "big business." There is opposition, sometimes subtle and indirect, sometimes brutal and direct, but always determined, to every effort at organization in strategic industries. In the struggle, employers and their supporters make use of welfare work, company unions, injunctions, labor spies, hired thugs, yellow dog contracts, many of these devices practically unknown elsewhere in the world. They do not hesitate to throw entire states or sections of states into a condition of civil war in order to prevent organization, yet on their part they have the support of the courts and all the machinery of government in their anti-labor activities.

Faced with such a situation, what will the honest, militant, progressive laborite do? We believe that progressives will

The Will and Way to Organize

1. Work untiringly to organize the masses of unskilled and semi-skilled in the basic industries into industrial unions. They will welcome the help of all those who want to build industrial unions. They will insist that unions be made effective agencies on behalf of the workers primarily on the economic field and that propaganda for the special social, economic or political views of members be subordinated to that end. The attitude of indifference must go. The sentiment must be laughed out of court that "it can't be done." Paper resolutions to organize must be thrown in the waste basket where they belong. An organization that proves unable or unwilling to organize workers over whom it claims a paper jurisdiction cannot forever prevent these workers from organizing and others from helping them. Young men and women in industry must be set to work organizing on the inside, as used to be done in the days when our present unions were built. There must be careful study of effective organizing methods. It is not only lack of will to organize that holds back the movement, but lack of knowledge as to how to cope with the new developments in industry. Special attention must be given to groups such as young workers, women workers, Negroes and immigrants. The first slogan must be: "Organize, Organize, Organize!" Progressives will

2. Appeal to workers to join the union as the agency that will fight for them and help them to improve their conditions, instead of appealing primarily, as is done in many instances today, to employers to recognize the union and induce their workers to join on the spurious ground that unions can do as much for the boss as the company union can. The tendency represented in the so-called Mitten-Mahon agreement must be vigorously fought. Progressives will

3. Expose and fight the National Civic Federation influence over the labor movement and its policies. Insist upon the fact of the struggle between the employer and the employee under the present system, and the function of the union in that struggle as so clearly set forth in the preamble to the constitution of the A. F. of L., which states that a "struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer which grows in intensity from year to year and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit." Banish from the labor movement the all too common conception that it is perfectly all right for labor people to hobnob with bankers, open shoppers, company unionists, strike-breaking politicians like Calvin Coolidge and similar types, but that a unionist who in any circumstances has anything to do with a radical loses his standing in the movement. Progressives will

4. Insist that trade union membership shall not be denied on the ground of race, or of the political, social, economic or religious views or affiliations of workers. A union like any other organization will take disciplinary measures against a member who is convicted of committing overt acts against the union, but whatever measures of this kind may be taken, the principle must be laid down that "a worker is a worker for a' that and a' that," that no people can be expelled from unions on the ground of their political, social, economic or religious views or affiliations. It is impossible that there should be absolute uniformity of opinion among workers, and the very basis

of trade unionism is violated when it is sought to impose such uniformity. Furthermore, discipline must be administered impartially to all who truly injure the union, not excluding crooks, grafters, gangsters and politicians. Progressives will

Rights of the Minority

5. Fight for the recognition of the principle that a minority or opposition in disagreement with what happens to be the official position of the moment, has a right to exist in the movement. The labor movement is necessarily a changing movement in the midst of ever changing conditions; it can live only as it adapts itself to those changing conditions; the policies that have been accepted today may be outlived tomorrow. Unless, therefore, new ideas have a chance to be heard, unless there is a discussion, and the clash of opinion, unless "rules of the game" are observed and those who are temporarily in the minority have a chance to function, the unions must inevitably stagnate and die. Progressives will

6. Fight injunctions and yellow dog contracts. Fight judge-made law by mass resistance of the workers on the picket-line and not only through lawyers and legislatures. Progressives will

7. Campaign for social insurance against sickness, including maternity, unemployment, death, and for old age pensions. The right of the worker and his family to a dependable year-round income, including special provision for emergencies over which he has no control must be recognized. Progressives will

8. Encourage the development of genuine cooperative enterprises among the workers. Progressives will

9. Keep alive the soul of the labor movement, set forth the movement as a great idealistic force having for its goal a social order controlled by the workers. Man lives by bread, and therefore the union must struggle to get immediate results in higher wages and other conditions for its members. Workers will follow leaders who get such results and not be too squeamish about their methods, and they will laugh at intellectuals who are mere theorists or cranks. Nevertheless, it is also true that "man shall not live by bread alone," that the union which has lost its soul will perish as surely as the union that has lost its practical efficiency. Only a movement marked by idealism, leading American workers on to freedom and independence, can stir and hold them, can win them away from company unionism in a period when it may be difficult, if not impossible, to go to the great masses of workers and promise them any immediate improvement of conditions over what the boss is giving them if they join the union. Progressives will

10. Support and help to work out effective methods of collective bargaining and of union control in the shop under the conditions existing in modern industry. A trade union is not a revolutionary political party. It must deal with the situation as it finds it and must make compromises from time to time. It cannot take a merely negative attitude, assume a crude opposition to the introduction of new machinery and methods in industry; such a policy has proved suicidal in the past. On the other hand, the union must regard itself as primarily an instrument by which the workers may defend their rights, improve their conditions and raise their status. A union that exists mainly in order to enable the boss to attain certain ends is a company union even though it be masked as a bona fide union, and the workers will not be long deceived, nor give it devotion and enthusiastic service. Progressives will

11. Struggle for the five-day week for all workers, for cutting down night shifts and overtime work to the barest minimum, for drastic and continuous reduction of hours and increase in wages as the productivity of industry increases, and determined resistance to all speeding up of workers which is unnecessary or subjects them to excessive physical and mental strain. Progressives will

12. Stand for recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States and opposition to all efforts on the part of reactionaries and imperialists to prevent the Russian people from carrying through their revolution against czarism and working out their experiment in workers' control. Resist efforts of reactionaries and imperialists to throw a smoke screen around their own designs and activities by the effort to "pin communism" on anybody who refuses to take an attitude of blind hostility to the Russian workers and their government. Progressives will

13. Work to make the American labor movement definitely anti-imperialistic and anti-militaristic. Imperialistic adventures of the United States must be rigidly opposed. American workers must recognize before it is too late the danger for other peoples and for themselves which lies in our immense resources, our huge industrial machines, our actual and potential military power, all in the hands of financial overlords whose policies are bound to drag us into indescribably costly and bloody wars. Progressives will

14. Assert the principle that labor must be international in its spirit and activities since capital is internationally organized and conditions of work in one country directly affect workers in other lands. Work for an international labor movement, a closer and closer union of all the workers of the world, regardless of race, nationality, creed and color, against the forces that are exploiting and oppressing them, and using them as machine fodder and cannon fodder. Progressives will

Fight for a Labor Party

15. Develop a labor party based on the mass organization of industrial workers, including farmers and agricultural laborers whose social and economic status is that of workers, rallying all individuals who can no longer stomach the regime of Coolidge-Hoover Republicanism, big business, and militarism, and excluding all exploiting groups and interests. While a sound political movement must be based on industrial organization, an effective political arm will in its turn greatly help the formation of unions.

16. Support a workers' education movement that has for its primary aim equipping the workers for the struggle to improve their conditions and to gain control of industry. In order to be worthwhile and not positively misleading and harmful, workers' education must address itself to the actual needs and problems of the workers. It must study the very issues which we have been setting forth in this statement. It must inform the workers about them and lead them to consider and discuss these issues in union meetings, shop meetings, classes, forums, wherever workers gather or can be brought together. Workers' education must develop its own institutions and agencies to meet the varied conditions and problems of the workers. It must go out to the masses of unorganized workers in the basic industries, not wait for them to come to it. Progressives will not, however, want dogmas or cut and dried theories foisted on workers. They will want high educational standards maintained. They will try to develop workers who think for themselves and who approach their problems with respect for facts, willingness to face facts, and to base conclusions and actions

on facts rather than theories, speculations, or prejudices. Progressives will want the labor movement to seek to meet all the varied recreational, cultural and educational needs of the workers and their families. They will deem it quite as important to have education, recreation and culture with a union label on it as socks and shirts with the union label on them. They will vigorously support such agencies as the Federated Press, Labor Age, Brookwood, various labor classes and colleges, the various progressive labor papers and journals,—all agencies dedicated to education of the workers, for the workers, by the workers, agencies through which American workers are trying to make their contribution toward a finer, richer, more intelligent life for themselves and families.

With such a program and in this spirit, we believe the American labor movement can move on to power and victory. Let honest and courageous discussion lead to intelligent and effective action.

Organization Plan and Activities.—According to Leonard Bright, secretary, there were 151 persons from 33 unions, 31 cities and 18 states at the organizing convention. They were present as individuals, not as representatives of their unions. A. J. Muste presided. A statement of policy was adopted which abbreviated The Challenge to Progressives. The organization plan declared:

The object of this organization is to carry on research, educational work and agitation among the workers, both organized and unorganized in industry and agriculture, in order to stimulate in the existing and potential labor organizations a progressive, realistic, militant labor spirit and activity in all its phases—trade union, political, cooperative and educational.

Individual and group memberships were provided for, as well as the customary officers and a national executive committee of 26. *Labor Age* was made the official organ. Resolutions were adopted condemning President William Green of the A. F. of L. for reviewing the West Point cadets and for broadcasting in a radio program conducted by *Collier's*; commending the railroad brotherhood unions for their stand in favor of the six-hour day; and demanding the pardon of Mooney, Billings, and the Centralia prisoners. An amendment to strike out all reference to the communists in the statement of policy was overwhelmingly defeated. In this connection, on July 23, 1929, A. J. Muste issued a statement in answer to an attack by the A. F. of L. executive council:

The Conference for Progressive Labor Action is not a dual trade union center or federation of labor. It is not interested in the formation of any such dual organization. It disapproves of the plans now under way by the communists to call a conference in Cleveland for the formation of a communist trade union center. As we see it such a movement is disruptive and totally out of accord with the needs of the workers in America today.

The communists through their official organ, *The Daily Worker*, have characterized Mr. Muste and the Conference for Progressive Labor Action as the deadliest enemies of the working class. In his statement, Mr. Muste also declared:

The charge that the Conference for Progressive Labor Action is out to destroy the American Federation of Labor is false and absurd. It is out to do all in its power to bring the millions of American workers into the labor movement in order that organized labor may be a mighty agency able to cope with company unionism, the open shop, injunctions, yellow dog contracts, and the whole regime of Republicanism, big business, militarism and imperialism.

Following the conference of the A. F. of L. leaders with President Hoover, Mr. Muste vigorously attacked the announced policy of the former of not demanding wage increases. He further condemned their lack of an independent labor policy.

The convention elected the following to the national executive committee:

Leonard Bright, Louis F. Budenz, Leonard Craig, Frank Crosswaith, Winston Dancis, Justus Ebert, Clinton Golden, J. B. S. Hardman, Carl Holderman, Carl Johanntges, A. J. Kennedy, Abraham Lefkowitz, Henry R. Linville, Nellie Lithgow, Ludwig Lore, Frank Manning, James H. Maurer, Charles Maute, Frank Morris, Israel Mufson, A. J. Muste, James Oneal, Joseph Schwartz, Nathaniel Spector, Norman Thomas and Andrew Vance.

Subsequently, A. J. Muste was elected chairman, James H. Maurer and Carl Holderman, vice-chairmen; A. J. Kennedy, treasurer; Louis Francis Budenz and Israel Mufson, executive secretaries, and Leonard Bright, secretary.

Southern Organization Campaign.—The leaders of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action backed up the officers of the United Textile Workers in their efforts to organize the South. Educational classes were conducted in Marion, North Carolina, by William Ross, who with Tom Tippet, A. J. Muste, and others also cooperated closely with Alfred Hoffmann and the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, initiated and maintained by Norman Thomas of the League for Industrial Democracy. The chairman of the C. P. L. A., writing after the Toronto convention of the American Federation of Labor, said:

The progressives were the first, months ago, to call attention to the opportunity in the South and the revolt even then brewing among the textile workers. Progressives criticised the inadequate planning for the organizing campaign, lack of publicity, dramatization and relief machinery, bad strike settlements, dependence upon the supposed "fairness" of company union corporations rather than upon the militancy and determination of the workers. Progressives almost single-handed carried on the glorious struggle by the side of the workers in Marion, which focussed the eyes of labor and of the nation on the southern textile field just on the eve of the Toronto

convention. The martyred textile workers who shed their blood by Marion's mill gate spoke with resistless eloquence to the delegates, and it may well be, as Vice President Gorman of the United Textile Workers put it, that their death "marks the beginning of the end of industrial slavery in the South."

Mr. Muste also called upon the A. F. of L. to raise a million dollars for the campaign.

The C. P. L. A., among its first published pamphlets, issued one on *The Marion Murder*, telling of the incidents that led up to the killing of the strikers and including the addresses at the funeral by Francis J. Gorman of the United Textile Workers, Tom Tippet and A. J. Muste.

Local Branches.—Branches were established or contacts made, preparatory to their launching, during 1929, in the following cities: New York, Bridgeport, New Haven, New Bedford, Philadelphia, Buffalo, Niagara Falls, Boston, Cleveland, Detroit, Pittsburgh, and Chicago. Considerable press publicity was received in some leading dailies as well as in a number of labor papers. Membership dues for the national organization was fixed at one dollar. Headquarters were established at 104 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

TRADE UNION UNITY LEAGUE

Affiliated to the Red International of Labor Unions.—Among the resolutions adopted by the fourth congress of the Red International of Labor Unions, held in Moscow, March 17-April 3, 1928, the tasks of the adherents in the United States are specifically outlined. In reference to organizing the unorganized, the resolution reads:

Further appeals to the bureaucracy and dependence upon the so-called progressives in the reactionary unions is useless and wrong. The Trade Union Educational League must itself become the basis organization for the organization of the unorganized.

In the letter from Lozovsky, secretary, for the executive bureau of the Red International of Labor Unions, to the convention where the Trade Union Educational League transformed itself into the Trade Union Unity League, appears the following:

It is your task to create a trade union center uniting all revolutionary unions, minority groups and individual militants. The new center must become the organizer of the masses of unorganized workers, as well as direct the work of the minorities in the reformist unions against the A. F. of L. bureaucracy.

In defining the third period of world capitalism, the letter goes on to say:

American imperialism is becoming ever more thoroughly integrated into the world system of capitalism, which, in its present third period of post-war development, is characterized by the growth of productive forces together with the narrowing down of markets. The very strength of American imperialism in its tremendous mass-production of commodities representing a volume of wealth unheard of before, throws it into bitter conflict with other imperialist powers, especially with Great Britain for the possession of the world's markets, and intensifies its hatred for the U. S. S. R., which, due to its socialist construction, has removed one-sixth of the world from the sphere of capitalist exploitation. The result is two-fold: on the one hand increased exploitation of the masses of the workers in the shape of wage-cuts, speeding-up of labor, and the whole process known as capitalist rationalization. On the other hand the immediate sharpening of international antagonisms to the point of immediate menace of a new world war. The problems of finding the ways and means for effective struggle against these twins of modern imperialism, the war danger and capitalist rationalization, are the outstanding tasks of the revolutionary trade unions.

The Trade Union Educational League, accordingly, at its fourth biennial convention, which was postponed from June 1 to August 31, 1929, and which met in Cleveland, gave up its previous function as a propaganda and educational organization primarily, and took a new name and new tasks, in line with the policies of the R. I. L. U., to which it was affiliated.

Draft Program.—The Cleveland convention of the Trade Union Unity League adopted a platform of 17 sections, running to 46 pages of a regular pamphlet. The essential points will be found, however, in the following parts, dealing with "The Class Struggle Industrial Union Movement:"

Draft Program of the Trade Union Unity League

Bankruptcy of the A. F. of L.

The experiences of many years have shown the inability of the A. F. of L. to organize and lead the masses. Only 3,000,000 out of at least 20,000,000 organizable workers have been brought into the old unions. The bulk of those organized are skilled workers in the lighter and less trustified industries, such as printing, building, amusement trades, etc. The great masses of workers in the basic industries of steel, railroads, chemicals, automobiles, mining, electrical manufacturing, marine transportation, etc., remain almost entirely unorganized. The A. F. of L. makes no fight to organize or to defend the interests of these workers. It fundamentally bases itself upon the skilled aristocracy of labor and systematically sells out the highly exploited semi-skilled and unskilled workers. It cannot organize the vast masses in the basic industries.

The present situation exposes more completely than ever the political bankruptcy of the American Federation of Labor and emphasizes the imperative necessity for a new system of labor unionism. Under the pressure of capitalist rationalization, unemployment and low wages, great masses of workers in the basic and trustified industries are beginning to stir and to develop organization and struggle. Impossibly hard conditions make it necessary that the workers fight against their employ-

ers. The speed-up, unemployment, low wages, etc., are producing their inevitable reaction of struggle among the workers. The rationalization of industry means inevitably the radicalization of the workers. The social reformists of all shades and complexions try to minimize this radicalization, try to put the best possible face on the situation for capitalism. But the workers are unquestionably constantly developing radicalization and increasingly taking up the struggle against the terrible capitalist rationalization in all seriousness and determination.

Radicalization of the Workers

Evidences of the growing radicalization, organization, and struggle of the workers are to be seen on all sides by strikes and movement in the coal mining, automobile, needle trades, shoe, meatpacking and many other industries. The American working class which capitalist apologists thought would sleep on forever, is beginning to awaken. It is going over on an offensive against its capitalist exploiters.

This radicalization of the working class, under the pressure of rationalization, is especially dramatized by the great upheaval in the South, centering in Gastonia, and climaxing in the efforts of the textile mill operators to electrocute and send to prison 23 workers, almost entirely American, are in most active struggle against their employers. They are the very symbol of the growing discontent of the workers, not only in the newly industrialized sections of the South, but also of all American industries.

The growing radicalization of American workers is a part of even more intense world-wide radicalization of the working class in the face of intensified capitalist exploitation, and which is marked by the gigantic strikes in Germany, France, England, Poland, Bulgaria, India, etc. The world's workers are developing a fresh revolutionary offensive against the capitalist system.

The reformist trade unions, with their antiquated craft forms and practices, corrupt leaders, and policies of collaboration with the employers, cannot lead these growing struggles of the masses. The A. F. of L. participates in such struggles only to betray them. The trustification of industry, the elimination of skill, and diminution of wage and other differences between skilled and unskilled, the intense rationalization of industry, narrow the base of the A. F. of L. and force its leaders completely into the service of the employers. In face of the imperative need of the masses to organize and struggle, the old craft unionism of the A. F. of L. is worse than obsolete. This craft unionism is a hindrance to the development of the organization and struggles of the working class.

A new and revolutionary system of labor unionism is necessary. This new unionism, born of the stern needs of the workers, is now beginning to take shape. That is the most important part of present labor history. Within the past eighteen months industrial unions, based upon the principles of the class struggle, have been born in the coal, mining, textile, needle trades, automobile, shoe, and marine transportation industries. These are taking the lead of the struggles of the masses in their respective industries. They are the immediate forerunners of similar organizations in all the important unorganized and semi-organized industries.

New Unionism

The new unionism bases itself upon the experience of the class struggle. Its slogan is "class against class." It realizes that the interests of the workers are completely in opposition to those of the capitalists, and that an irreconcilable conflict goes on between the working class and capitalist class. It

rejects collaboration with the employers, the A. F. of L. policy which paralyzes every effort of the workers to organize and defend themselves. It condemns arbitration, whether "voluntary" or compulsory, as a method of the employers to defeat the demands of the workers. Its foundation working principle is that the workers can secure from the employers only that which they have the power to take in active struggle. It organizes the workers and aggressively wages the class war, so that their maximum power may be brought to bear against the capitalist class. It supports the revolutionary political struggles and organization of the working class.

The new unions are based, primarily upon the semi-skilled and unskilled masses, and fight for the interests of the working class as a whole. These are the most exploited and most militant sections of the working class. The A. F. of L. program of basing the labor movement upon the skilled workers, a policy that was always wrong, is made increasingly disastrous and futile by the wholesale elimination of skill in the industries through standardization, specialization, mechanization, and a thousand other devices and efficiency systems. The A. F. of L. is founded on the diminishing labor aristocracy; the new unionism bases itself upon the expanding masses of unskilled and semi-skilled who are the decisive factor in modern industry.

The class struggle unions are industrial in structure, with an efficient departmentalization for the various industrial sections, and with special national and local sections for the youth and women. The new unions organize all sections of the workers; Negro, women, youth, skilled and unskilled. The great consolidation of the forces of imperialist capitalism makes industrial unionism imperative.

Craft unionism, born in the early stages of capitalism, is at best helpless as a fighting movement in these days of monopoly capitalist organization. It must be superseded by an all-inclusive industrial unionism. In the trustified industries, where 90 per cent. of the workers can learn their "trades" in a week, craft unionism is pitifully ridiculous.

The A. F. of L. system of one or more crafts striking while the rest work is a crime against the working class. It has lost thousands of strikes and done much to prevent growth of class solidarity.

Even in those industries which are most competitive in character, such as textile, needle, mining, etc., the great banks exert the controlling force, present a powerful front against the workers, and make industrial unionism absolutely necessary. Only by great mass movements, drawing in all the workers,—men, women, youth—and capable of paralyzing whole industries and groups of industries, can the workers make headway against the powerful employers, who are aided by the State and their social reformist labor leader allies. These strike movements must be highly militant, aggressive, and political in character. All struggles in the present era tend to take on a political nature by the State intervening more and more aggressively against the workers. The day of craft unionism has gone forever in American industry; the day of militant industrial unionism is here.

Strike Strategy

The new unions develop revolutionary strike strategy. They are organizations seeking, not as the A. F. of L. unions, ways to surrender to the bosses, but to fight them. They study systematically the strength and maneuvers of the capitalist enemy and calculate the methods which will draw the masses of workers into the struggle, develop their initiative and turn their maximum power against the capitalists at the most op-

portune moment and in the most strategic place. A correct strike strategy involves a careful evaluation of all the experiences made by the workers in the class struggle. Especially it requires an attitude of self-criticism regarding mistakes made in the fight. Frank self-criticism is one of the foundation stones of the revolutionary industrial union movement.

The new unions discard the old local structure of the craft unions. They base themselves directly upon the shops, establishing shop committees, and the shop delegate system. The building of shop committees, the carrying on of union work directly in the shop is fundamental. This draws the working masses directly into the life and struggles of the unions. The new unions eliminate the autocracy of the old unions and establish a real democracy among the workers. They wipe out the corrupting high salary practices of the old trade unions and pay their officials only the going wage of the industries. Instead of exorbitant dues and initiation fees, breeders of corruption and reaction, they have union charges within reach of the lowest paid workers. They systematically carry on a work of education of their general membership as to the real meaning of capitalism and the struggle of the workers to abolish it.

The new unionism in the United States is but the American expression of the new and higher forms of organization and struggle developed by the workers all over the world in the present rising wave of struggle. Among these are the movements to conquer the factory committees in Germany, the establishment of rank and file strike committees in Poland, etc., to take the strike leadership from the social reformists, the organization of workers defense corps against Fascist reformism, etc. Gastonia, where the workers defended themselves with guns in their hands, is an example of such more revolutionary methods in the United States.

The new unionism is international in character. It recognizes the common class interests of the workers of all countries and the necessity for a united struggle against international capitalism. It repudiates completely the nationalistic and patriotic stand of the reformist trade unions. It joins with all the militant labor movements of the world under the banner of the Red International of Labor Unions. The R.I.L.U. is the only revolutionary world union of workers. It is composed of all the revolutionary labor unions and minorities in the reformist unions. It makes war on world imperialism and its social-reformist allies. In every country its Unions are to be found in the very forefront of the class struggle. The new unions in the United States are part of this great world movement against capitalism.

Revolutionary Goal

The new unionism sets itself a revolutionary goal. It points out the disaster of the capitalists owning the industries and operating them for their own profit. It advocates that only by overthrow of the present system of capitalist ownership and exploitation and the establishment of a working class society in which production will be carried on, not for private profit, but for the social good,—can the workers improve their conditions and emancipate themselves. The American working class must follow the path beaten out by the Russian workers. Capitalism cannot furnish an improved standard of living for the workers. The workers have nothing to expect from capitalism but low wages, long hours, unemployment, speed-up, gradual worsening conditions, and war. They must aim at its overthrow.

The capitalist system is doomed. It cannot overcome its own inherent contradictions. The disparity between the mounting

capitalist production of commodities and the growing inability of the markets under capitalism to absorb them, makes eventually for the shut-down of industry, mass unemployment, sharper and sharper economic crises, greater and greater class struggles, devastating world wars, and the eventual mobilization of the working class for the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system.

The present period marks a sharpening of all these tendencies, not only in the European countries, but also in the United States.

Although the American capitalist system is still stronger than that of any European country, and the class struggle is less developed here, nevertheless the whole trend of capitalism toward a final crash is basically the same the world over. Decay eats at the heart of the apparently strong American imperialism. This is exemplified among other things, by the rapid growth of unemployment and the wide preparations for war. The program of the social reformists of patching up the decaying capitalistic system with various subterfuges is futile. It always boils down to the program of the capitalists for the maintenance of working-class exploitation in the face of the growing mass discontent. The new unions reject the perspective of preserving capitalism. They support the revolutionary struggles of the workers the world over. They aim to sharpen, deepen and unite the scattered economic struggles of the workers into a general political struggle aiming at the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of a workers and farmers government.

The Trade Union Unity League aggressively furthers the organization of new revolutionary industrial unions in industries where there are no unions and in industries where the existing unions are corrupt and impotent. The organization of the masses into new unions stands in the very center of the T.U.U.L. program. But this does not imply a policy of petty splits and individual withdrawal of militant workers from the old trade unions where these have a mass character. Such a policy was one of the many serious mistakes of the I. W. W.

Fight in Old Unions

On the contrary, the T.U.U.L. organizes the left wing in these old unions and fights for their revolutionization. The skilled workers also feel the pressure of rationalization. Discontented masses in various of these unions look upon their official leaders with hatred and contempt as betrayers. They only require the occasion and effective leadership to develop serious struggles against the officialdom and employers. The T.U.U.L. fights in the old unions for their amalgamation through direct action of the masses against their leaders. It fights for a militant wage and strike policy in these organizations, and sets up rank and file strike committees against the official machinery of the bureaucrats. It struggles to break the alliance of the old unions with the capitalist parties and to draw them into working-class political struggles. It fights to rouse the organized masses for the defense of the Soviet Union and generally against impending imperialist war. It carries on a merciless struggle to eliminate the reactionary leaders from control of these unions and to defeat their program of class collaboration. It battles to wipe out the discrimination against Negro workers in the industries and in the unions. It struggles to draw the old organizations into closer relations, organizationally and ideologically, with the industrial union movement, against the unionism of the labor bureaucrats. The new union movement militantly battles for class, industrial unionism, both outside and inside the old unions. To carry out this program it follows a policy of making united fronts from the bottom

with progressive workers against their slippery Musteite and A. F. of L. leaders. The T.U.U.L. will never surrender the old trade union organizations to the Green, Woll, Hillquit, Muste and Co., the labor agents of American imperialism.

Constitution.—The Trade Union Unity League, according to the constitution adopted, is a federation of national and local industrial unions and leagues. The unions are relatively autonomous, although they can be controlled by the central body of the League. Where there are no national or local unions, leagues are organized to include shop committees, groups of workers in unorganized industries and such individuals in the "reformist trade unions" as are desirous of cooperating.

Low initiation fees and dues within the possibilities of the poorest paid workers, with lower fees for young workers, universal free transfer of members from one union to another, and democratic centralism are to prevail. Officers' salaries are not to exceed the average wage in the industry. The unions are to be built on the shop delegate system, with the mine, mill, shop or ship organization serving as the union base. Between conventions, a national committee, a national executive board, and a bureau of the executive, made up of the national officers, run the League. At least half of the national committee and executive board are to be workers actually employed in industry.

Constituent Bodies.—At the organizing convention there were 690 delegates, divided as follows: 302 from industrial unions; 145 from local leagues and affiliated organizations; 130 from shop committees; and 113 officials and fraternal delegates. By far the greatest number of delegates, 189, came from the mining fields. There were 69 delegates from steel and metals, 53 from automobiles, 51 from the needle trades, 44 from building, and 40 each from textiles and food products. About 160 persons were under 25 years of age; there were 72 women and 64 Negroes.

National Industrial Unions.—The National Miners' Union, the Needle Trades Workers' Industrial Union and the National Textile Workers' Union were organized in September, July, and August, 1928, respectively. They are directly affiliated with the Trade Union Unity League.

The National Miners' Union, of which Patrick Toohey was general secretary, claims to have local unions in Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia. It has held a number of district conventions, one of the most

important of which was that at Belleville, Illinois, October 26-27, 1929, with 133 persons present. A subsequent tri-district convention at Zeigler, on December 1, called the miners' strike of December 9. John Watt was removed as president by the national executive board. He was charged with trying to build up a personal "machine", and conducting an anti-Red campaign.

The Needle Trades Workers' Industrial Union conducted strikes of furriers, cloakmakers, and dressmakers in New York City, and elsewhere.

The National Textile Workers' Union, at the end of 1929, had the following bureau of the executive board: James Reid, Clarence Miller (secretary), Sophie Melvin, Rappoport and Lieb. Albert Weisbord, former secretary, was removed because he opposed "the slogan of the right of workers to self-defense, and resigned his post at the peak of struggle in and around Gastonia," according to a resolution adopted at the national convention in Paterson, December 21-22, 1929. Ellen Dawson was expelled for writing an article "against the union in an enemy paper," the *Militant* (Cannon-Trotsky organ). Eli Keller, who succeeded Weisbord, was also expelled because he defended Dawson. Relations of the expelled to the Lovestone and Cannon groups played a part in their suspensions.

The national convention at Paterson characterized the Muste group as follows:

The so-called Muste group which dominates the United Textile Workers, tries by the use of militant phrases and treacherous pretenses of organization work and leadership of strikes it cannot prevent, to cover up the true character of the A. F. of L., of which it is a part.

Several conferences were held in the South, the largest of which were in Bessemer City, North Carolina on July 28, and the other in Charlotte in the early part of October. It is claimed there were over 300 delegates from 175 mills at the latter. Demands were formulated for ending the stretch-out system, for the 8-hour day and 6-hour day for young workers, abolition of night work, no child labor, equal pay for equal work, recognition of the National Textile Workers' Union, \$20 a week as minimum wage, the right of workers to arm and defend themselves, and free speech and free assemblage.

Other Unions and Leagues Affiliated.—In addition to the three national unions, the T. U. U. L. claims the following affiliated bodies:

Metal Workers Industrial League. Reorganized from the Metal Trades Group of the T. U. E. L.; Andrew Overgaard, secretary, headquarters at Pittsburgh. Claims groups in every big steel plant in the country.

Marine Workers League. Reorganized from the International Seamen's Club; George Mink, secretary. Claims locals in every port in the United States. Emphasizes work among Negro longshoremen. Held a Pacific Coast conference on November 8-9, in preparation for a national convention.

Office Workers Union of New York City. Established in January, 1927, as an opposition union to the A. F. of L. local.

Lumber Workers. Organized at the Cleveland convention of the T. U. U. L. Held a conference on December 15, with 80 delegates from Michigan, Minnesota and Wisconsin.

Sugar Beet Workers of Colorado. Organized at the Cleveland convention, and claims a membership of 7,000.

Building Trades Industrial League. Reorganized from the Building Trades Group of the T. U. E. L.

Auto Workers Union. Philip Raymond, secretary of local 127, is chairman. This Detroit local refused at its meeting on May 17, 1929, to follow the example of Local 49 of New York City and become a federal union of the A. F. of L. Instead it has been active in calling conferences to lay the basis for a national organization, affiliated with the T. U. U. L. Has participated in strikes of auto workers in Oakland, Flint, Grand Rapids, and Detroit.

Printers and Publishers Industrial League. Organized at Cleveland.

Railroad Amalgamation Committee.

Demands.—The Trade Union Unity League emphasizes the following demands:

(1) Organize the unorganized; (2) develop class struggle unions and oppose class collaboration; (3) organize within the "reformist unions" against the "bureaucrats"; (4) defend Soviet Russia; (5) oppose imperialist war; (6) demand full social, racial and political equality for Negroes; (7) fight for world trade union unity and affiliate with the Red International of Labor Unions; (8) fight capitalist rationalization (speed-up); (9) demand a 7-hour day, 5-day week, social insurance, etc.; (10) carry out the Communist program and support defense organizations, the *Daily Worker*, and establish a workers' and farmers' government in the United States.

Officers.—At the end of 1929 William Z. Foster was general secretary, J. Schmies was assistant secretary, J. W. Johnstone, organizer, James Ford, Negro organizer, and William F. Dunne, editor of *Labor Unity*, official organ.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

Organizing Harvest Hands and Miners.—Through Industrial Union No. 110, the Industrial Workers of the World (I. W. W.) pushed organization among the harvest hands in the wheat and corn belts. Besides several conferences, I. U. No. 110 held a convention on November 4, in Seattle, with about 30 delegates. It also made attempts to unionize sugar beet workers.

After some field work, the I. W. W. called a conference of Illinois miners in Collinsville, to bring the coal diggers into Coal and Coke Oven Workers' Industrial Union No. 220. The official organ, *Industrial Solidarity*, declared that the Illinois miners did not want and did not support the strike of the National Miners' Union of the Trade Union Unity League. Bitter warfare has continued between the I. W. W. and the communists. The General Construction Workers Industrial Union held a meeting in Seattle, February 20, and the lumber workers met toward the end of the year in Spokane. The I. W. W. organized gypsum workers in New York State and called a strike of 600 such miners in February.

Lee Tulin, having served the maximum of three years, was not a candidate for secretary-treasurer for the new term starting March 1, 1930. James P. Thompson toured the country. The organization held no convention in 1929. The I. W. W. held meetings and pressed for the liberation of the eight Centralia prisoners. Vincent St. John, secretary between 1909 and 1914, sent to prison by Judge Landis during the war, and one of the founders of the Western Federation of Miners and the Industrial Workers of the World, died on June 21, in San Francisco.

The I. W. W. continued to publish the following official papers:

Industrial Solidarity and *Industrial Worker*, English weeklies; *Industrialisti* and *Tie Vapauteen* Finnish daily and monthly; *Bermunkas*, Hungarian weekly; *Il Proletario*, Italian weekly; *Jedna Velka Unie*, Czecho-slovak weekly, and *Solidaridad*, Spanish bi-weekly.

INDUSTRIAL UNION LEAGUE

Socialist Industrial Unions.—At a convention in June, 1928, New York City, the Industrial Union League was launched with a declaration of principles embodying the industrial union philosophy of Daniel DeLeon, according to its founders, some of whom were former members of the Socialist Labor Party. Extracts follow:

The Industrial Union League advocates the unconditional surrender of the capitalist class and the establishment of the Socialist Industrial Republic. To accomplish this aim requires that the working class be organized both politically and industrially before it can achieve this result.

The economic arm of labor has among its purposes: to project a class conscious revolutionary political organization; to furnish the requisite might to unseat the parasitic capitalist class; to act as the structure of the future society; and to better conduct the every-day struggles of the workers.

It behooves all clear-thinking class-conscious workers to put forth every effort toward setting on foot an industrial organization of the working class. . . . The Industrial Union League dedicates itself to the task of spreading the principles of industrial unionism and aiding every bona fide attempt of the workers to establish such organizations.

In a 64-page pamphlet issued by the League, called *Ethics and Principles of Unionism*, by Joseph Brandon, chapters are devoted to such topics are "contracts," "arbitration," "the label," "the coffin society," "the job trust," "no politics in the union," "identity of interests," "amalgamation," and "dual unionism."

Headquarters were fixed at Hunts Point Palace, 953 Southern Boulevard, Bronx, N. Y. Sam Brandon is secretary. The organization cooperates with the South Slavonian Socialist Industrial League, of which Stephen Kontrin is secretary, 5339 Russell Street, Detroit, Michigan.

III. STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS

GENERAL TABLES

Increased Number in 1929.—Between 1925 and 1928 inclusive there was a sharp drop in the number of labor disputes, as reported by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics. During 1929, however, this tendency was checked. For the first 11 months of the past year 787 conflicts were listed, with 233,659 workers involved. There were many more small strikes in 1929 than in 1927 and 1928. Since the peak of 1920 there has been a decline in the number of employees involved. The average number of workers per dispute was smaller in 1929 than for any previous year.

Labor Disputes and Workers Involved, 1916-1929¹

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total Disputes Reported</i>	<i>Disputes in Which No. of Workers Was Given</i>	<i>Total No. of Workers Involved</i>	<i>Average No. of Workers per Dispute</i>
1916.....	3,789	2,667	1,599,917	600
1917.....	4,450	2,325	1,227,254	528
1918.....	3,353	2,151	1,239,989	576
1919.....	3,630	2,665	4,160,348	1,561
1920.....	3,411	2,226	1,463,054	657
1921.....	2,385	1,785	1,099,247	616
1922.....	1,112	899	1,612,562	1,794
1923.....	1,553	1,199	756,584	631
1924.....	1,249	898	654,641	729
1925.....	1,301	1,012	428,416	423
1926.....	1,035	783	329,592	421
1927.....	734	734	349,434	476
1928.....	629	629	357,145	568
1929 (11 mos.)..	787	787	233,659	297

Number of Workers in Labor Disputes, By Industry, 1928¹

<i>Industry</i>	<i>1928</i>	<i>Industry</i>	<i>1928</i>
Building	19,965	Paper	1,301
Clothing	65,686	Printing	487
Furniture	618	Shipbuilding	830
Iron and steel	346	Slaughtering	752
Leather	196	Stone work	2,103
Lumber	598	Textiles	35,284
Metal	1,266	Tobacco	59
Mining, coal	195,876	Transportation	364

¹ *Monthly Labor Review*, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, July, 1929, January, 1930.

Principal Causes of Labor Disputes, 1916-1928¹ (1916-1922)

<i>Cause of Dispute</i>	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922
Increase of wages	1,301	1,571	1,397	1,115	1,429	120	156
Decrease of wages.....	35	36	36	86	147	896	261
Incr. of wages and decr. of hours	481	378	256	578	269	34	16
Decr. of wages and incr. of hours	...	...	...	...	...	77	40
Other causes involving wages	96	115	93	110	121	55	76
Decrease of hours.....	113	132	79	117	62	294	22
Increase of hours.....	7	18	6	25	8	18	12
Other causes involving hours	2	18	2	5	2	7	...
Recognition of unions.....	404	333	241	522	308	191	137
Recognition and wages....	93	132	79	78	87	106	10
Recognition and hours.....	20	27	16	16	6	14	3
Recog., wages and hours...	56	48	49	76	45	11	8
Recog. and other conds.....	4	13	7	14	6	6	6
General conditions	68	116	93	123	116	83	72
Discharge of employes....	144	246	192	163	170	45	44
Unfair products	7	9	1	5	30	27	18
Sympathy	33	71	35	108	67	36	33
Jurisdiction and protest....	19	21	16	16	20	10	10
Other conditions	274	374	294	223	213	192	125
Not reported	631	792	461	250	305	163	63
Total	3,789	4,450	3,353	3,630	3,411	2,385	1,112

Principal Causes of Labor Disputes, 1916-1928¹ (1923-1928)

<i>Cause of Dispute</i>	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928
Increase of wages.....	445	255	277	260	142	98
Decrease of wages.....	49	125	117	52	57	53
Incr. of wages and decr. hrs.....	58	30	29	39	43	27
Decr. of wages and incr. hrs.....	...	7	4	1	1	1
Other causes involv. wages.....	144	96	97	101	85	113
Decrease of hours	16	18	7	19	20	6
Increase of hours	5	5	6	4	3	3
Other causes involv. hours	4	1	...	2	9	5
Recognition of unions.....	153	152	109	117	119	71
Recognition and wages.....	37	21	30	11	20	22
Recognition and hours.....	6	1	1	...	2	2
Recog., wages and hours.....	25	7	4	13	7	14
Recog. and other conditions.....	8	9	1	4	23	16
General conditions	80	79	89	66	47	17
Discharge of employes.....	79	54	74	61	50	58
Unfair products	7	1	4	16	3	7
Sympathy	31	22	39	29	23	8
Jurisdiction and protest.....	13	23	59	17	13	33
Other conditions	310	228	254	175	...	75
Not reported	83	108	100	48	67	...
Total	1,553	1,249	1,301	1,035	734	629

¹Monthly Labor Review, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, July, 1929.

Distribution by Industry.—The outstanding strikes in 1929 involved the Southern textile operatives, the New York cloak-makers, the Philadelphia clothing workers, the New Orleans street-car men, and the New York truck drivers. In 1928 the chief industries affected were coal mining, clothing, building, and textiles.

Causes.—No inclusive figures are available covering the causes of disputes in 1929. The statistics for 1928 show a marked falling off in strikes for higher wages, as compared with previous years, and also in the demand for recognition of the union.

Results.—According to the tabulation of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, 41 percent of the disputes for which information was at hand resulted in favor of the employers in 1928, against only 26 percent in 1927.

Results of Labor Disputes Ended Each Year, 1916-1928¹

Year	<i>In favor of employers</i>	<i>In favor of employees</i>	<i>Compromised</i>	<i>Employees re- turned pending arbitration</i>	<i>Jurisdictional and protest</i>	<i>Not reported</i>	<i>Total</i>
1916.....	748	749	777	73	...	101	2,448
1917.....	395	631	720	137	...	191	2,074
1918.....	465	627	691	204	...	211	2,198
1919.....	687	627	797	50	...	59	2,220
1920.....	677	472	448	61	...	214	1,872
1921.....	701	256	291	80	...	198	1,526
1922.....	248	259	105	16	...	113	741
1923.....	368	403	168	46	...	160	1,145
1924.....	283	354	138	45	...	139	959
1925.....	253	349	138	51	...	198	989
1926.....	226	288	147	36	...	83	780
1927.....	169	235	129	29	...	77	639
1928.....	272	197	160	3	14	10	656

SOUTHERN TEXTILES

Widespread and Bitter Struggles.—Organized and spontaneous strikes in the new textile centers of eastern Tennessee, and North and South Carolina during 1929 took on the proportions of class conflict. The strikes in South Carolina were largely leaderless. Those in Tennessee and North Carolina were directed by the United Textile Workers of the American Federation of Labor, on the one hand, and the National Textile Workers' Union of the Trade Union Unity

¹ *Monthly Labor Review*, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, July, 1929.

League, on the other. The companies were fighting to maintain the low wages, long hours and the speeding-up of the workers that gave them an advantage over the northern mills, and to prevent unionization, whether of a conservative or a revolutionary tendency, at any cost. The workers were demanding the elimination of speed-up systems, unionization, shorter hours, and higher pay. The state militia was brought into the affected areas, while public authorities, ministers, newspapers and business elements showed a united hostile front toward the strikers. 'Inflammatory advertisements, handbills, and editorials, kidnapping of union organizers, wrecking of union headquarters, evictions, brutal suppression of picketing, and cold-blooded murder were resorted to by those opposed to the workers. Strikers and their leaders alone were indicted and sentenced to long prison terms. Not a single one of those guilty of brutality, kidnapping, and murder of workers was brought to justice. While the strikers did not secure signed collective agreements, nor recognition of their unions, they compelled the companies to refrain from discriminating against unionists, to raise their pay, to shorten their hours, and to mitigate the speed-up systems. By their sacrifices the workers compelled the attention of the nation and helped to precipitate a national drive of the American Federation of Labor to organize the South, backed up by all the progressive elements of the land. The Communists also determined not to give up the fight.

Elizabethton, Tennessee.—One of the first, if not the first conflict in the southern textile field, broke out on March 12, 1929, when 800 employes, mostly girls, walked out of the American Glanzstoff Corporation, rayon manufacturers, at Elizabethton, Tennessee. They had been working 56 hours a week, the girls at 16-18 cents an hour. They demanded wage increases. The plant was ordered closed the following day. On the 19th the adjoining plant—under one management—the American Bemberg Corporation, was struck, and 3,000 employes joined the strike. The workers were all native Americans. Injunctions were served, two companies of militia were sworn in. On March 22 a settlement was secured, under the leadership of Alfred Hoffmann of the United Textile Workers, and Edward F. McGrady of the American Federation of Labor. In less than a month, however, on April 15th, the workers struck again. Although they had obtained wage increases they charged gross discriminations had been made against members of the new union. Until May 5th the plants were shut tight. On May 6th they re-

opened, with soldiers on duty. On May 27th the strikers returned upon an agreement that their grievances would be adjusted by conferences, and that they could continue union affiliation. They accepted the hard condition that a personnel manager of the employers would be sole judge of the merits of a case where a worker was not taken back.

On April 3rd, at midnight, Hoffmann was taken by armed men into a car, driven to the state line, threatened with tar and feathering, and ordered not to return. At 2 A. M. on the 4th McGrady was "taken for a ride" and told he "would be filled with holes" if he returned to the strike area. In his telegram to Governor Henry H. Horton, who sent 800 soldiers into the peaceful strike situation early in May, President William Green said: "You did not take any official action when this violent act occurred," referring to the kidnapping of Hoffmann and McGrady. The leaders of the mobs were also known to the kidnapped men and publicly named. The workers had to picket the plants along a highway with armed men on each side. Hundreds were arrested. A correspondent of a friendly Scripps-Howard paper was arrested several times and beaten up. The corporations organized a company union, the Loyal Bemberg and Glanzstoff Workers, with which to deaden the unionization campaign. The new A. F. of L. union local survived, however, after the strikes.

Gastonia, North Carolina.—The National Textile Workers' Union, organized in September, 1928, by left-wing and Communist elements, started its drive to organize the South in Gastonia, North Carolina, one of the largest cotton centers in the world. The Loray plant of the Manville-Jenckes Corporation, a branch of the Pawtucket, Rhode Island, firm, precipitated the strike by discharging leaders of the local union that had been formed. According to the *Monthly Labor Review*, of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, the strike which began on April 2nd involved about 1,100 workers. The press reported that by the 18th the plant was operating without difficulty. The workers demanded minimum weekly wages of \$20, 40-hour 5-day week, abolition of speeding system, equal pay for equal work for women and youth, sanitary housing and working conditions, reduction by 50 percent of rent and light charges, and recognition of the union. The strikes spread to Forest City, Lexington, and Pineville, North Carolina, and Anderson, South Carolina, as well as to other mills of the struck company. Throughout, the conflict was marked by intense bitterness on both sides.

The leaders of the union were outspoken Communists. Paul Blanshard, in his statement before the Committee on Manufactures of the United States Senate, hearings held because of Senator Wheeler's resolution, on May 20th, 1929, declared:

So far as I can see, there was very little violence on the part of the workers. I don't happen to be very sympathetic with that particular brand of leader in that situation, and I criticised them very severely for what they did in some of the northern strikes; but in Gastonia, from what I could see, they handled themselves quite remarkably, while on the other side there was a considerable amount of action which looks like the denial of civil liberties.

Five companies of the National Guard were called out. The union issued a leaflet to the soldiers to join the strikers. A masked mob demolished the strikers' headquarters and relief stores on the night of April 18th. The company resorted to evictions. In this connection, Blanshard stated:

... the mill owners hire the social workers; sometimes they pay the teachers; quite often they build the school buildings; and quite commonly they pay half the minister's salary. There is usually no newspaper in the community which expresses the mill worker's point of view. In addition to that tremendous power, they have the right to put a worker out of his home in time of strike.

Tents were put up on May 22nd and relief brought in from the North.

The city council passed ordinances to prevent picketing and to hit at the leaders, while special deputies clubbed strikers, including women and children, as well as friendly journalists and bystanders. Fred Irwin Beal, the outstanding leader, was charged with abduction because a wife of a worker went to New York City to secure relief. The *Gastonia Daily Gazette* carried advertisements which suggested that the leaders be run out of town. Armed guards protected them. The union policy of admitting Negroes into the organization was vehemently denounced.

On June 7th, when the strikers had returned to the tent colony, after they had been repulsed by force at the mill gates, Chief of Police O. F. Aderholt and a number of policemen appeared. In an altercation that followed Aderholt was killed, and one strike leader wounded. The tent colony was destroyed, and 65 arrested. Three women, Amy Schechter, Vera Bush, and Sophie Melvin were among those indicted and held in jail. At the opening of the trial, September 30, the women had been released, as well as all others excepting the seven charged with murder, and facing execution. A change of venue was granted by Judge M. V. Barnhill, who was, however, compelled to order a mistrial because one of the jurors

went insane. On October 21st the men were found guilty of second degree murder in a second trial, and sentenced as follows: Fred Beal, George Carter, Joseph Harrison, and Clarence Miller, 17 to 20 years; Louis McLaughlin and William McGinnis, 12 to 15 years; and K. Y. Hendricks, 5 to 7 years. They were held without bail for five months, but were released, awaiting judgment on appeal to the state supreme court.

Just after the mistrial, on September 9th, a mob raided the union headquarters, kidnapped three union men, beat one of them unconscious, surrounded the Charlotte jail, and threatened defense counsel. On the 14th occurred the murder of Mrs. Ella May Wiggins, the mother of five children. A union meeting was scheduled for Gastonia. Officers and deputies arrested the union leaders and scattered the crowd. Meanwhile, according to the account of Neal Battle Lewis, in the *Nation* of September 25, 1929,

Mrs. Wiggins and other union members were driving from Bessemer City to Gastonia to attend the proposed meeting. In the Loray mill section the mob met them, turned them back, and in ten or more cars set out in hot pursuit of them. When the fleeing truck was suddenly blocked by a machine which drove in front of it, the mob fired a volley of shots, one of which struck Mrs. Wiggins in the left breast and lodged in her spine. She soon died. The mob chased other union members across the cotton fields, shooting at them as they ran.

Marion, North Carolina.—The most tragic of the southern textile strikes occurred at Marion, North Carolina, where six workers were killed and 20 more were wounded by a sheriff and his deputies in the early hours of October 2nd.

About 650 employees of the Marion Manufacturing Company struck on July 11th, to protest against 11-and-12-hour shifts, wages of from \$5.20 to \$19.70 a week, abominable working and living conditions, and the refusal of the company to recognize their newly organized union, a local of the conservative United Textile Workers of the American Federation of Labor. After two companies of militia, two months of striking without pay, arrests, increased rents, evictions, and terrorism failed to break the ranks of the strikers, the corporation agreed to reduce hours to 55 a week, to recognize a grievance committee, and not to discriminate against members of the union. It soon made this agreement of September 11th a dead letter, however. Evictions were continued, members of the union were discriminated against, and workers were intimidated if they showed signs of protest.

Accordingly, the night shift downed tools on the morning of October 2nd, and awaited the oncoming day shift, the majority of whom it won. Sheriff O. F. Adkins and his armed

deputies were inside the mill gates. The strikers were ordered to disperse. A tear gas pistol was shot off. While the workers were making a hasty retreat, they were shot at by the sheriff and his deputies. The dead and wounded were hit in the back. A trial took place but the officers of the law were let off scot free.

The strike continued under great difficulties; evictions were made, workers were dropped from their church, and were blacklisted. Although help came from the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, the American Federation of Labor, the Friends, and as a result of Brookwood's efforts, the workers could not continue indefinitely the uneven contest.

A little pamphlet, published by the national executive committee of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, called *The Marion Murder*, contains the addresses of Francis J. Gorman, Tom Tippet, and A. J. Muste, at the funeral of the murdered strikers.

Stretch-Out System.—Beginning in March and continuing through the spring and summer a series of strikes broke out in South Carolina mainly, but also in North Carolina—apart from the outstanding ones mentioned above. Hundreds of employes in a number of scattered mills, without preparation or agitation by union organizers, walked out as a protest against a new efficiency system, "variously described as the Bedeaux system, the stretched-out or stretch-out system, the classification or extended system, the minute system," simply defined as "a method for the extension of the employe's duties to include more machines and more work, without a corresponding increase in earnings," or even a positive decrease in earnings. According to the findings of a committee of the South Carolina House of Representatives, where the stretch-out system was not introduced there was no trouble.*

Some of the mills and places affected included: Ware Shoals Manufacturing Company, Ware Shoals, South Carolina; Pelzer Manufacturing Co., Pelzer, S. C.; Brandon Mills, Poinsett Mills, Brandon duck mill, (including Woodruff Cotton Mills, Woodruff), Greenville, S. C.; Issaqueena Mill, Central, S. C.; Monarch Mills, Ottaray Mills, and Union-Buffalo Mills Co., Union, S. C., and Anderson Cotton Mills, Anderson, S. C.

NEW YORK CLOAK, SUIT AND SKIRT MAKERS

Reestablishment of Union Conditions.—The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, (Benjamin Schlesinger, president, and David Dubinsky, secretary) saw a very sub-

stantial increase in its numbers, prestige, and control of the women's garment industry as a result of the strike of cloak, suit and skirt makers in the New York market, July 2-11, 1929. Its outcome practically revived an organization which had almost been wrecked by the fight between lefts and rights and trade demoralization. The victory of the dress-makers' strike at the end of the year and early part of 1930—under direction of Julius Hochman—meant the full return of the union to its old vigor in the most important market of the industry.

About 30,000 cloak, suit and skirt makers were affected, although only half were working at the time of the strike. The workers responded to the strike call to an extent that exceeded the expectations of the union leaders. The Communist-controlled Needle Trades Workers' Industrial Union played no part in the struggle. Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt, and especially Lieutenant-Governor Herbert H. Lehman, helped to bring about a meeting of the representatives of the union and the three employers' groups; the inside manufacturers (Industrial Council), the contractors (American Association), and the jobbers (Merchants' Association). Raymond V. Ingersoll, impartial chairman of the industry, presided and helped the parties to agree upon a settlement, which embodied the following main points:

1. The union business agents now have the right to visit shops of the inside manufacturers every season.
2. The members of the various employers' associations doing business with the union now will patronize each other exclusively.
3. A joint commission, including outsiders, will help police the industry, and by shedding light on the facts, tend to eliminate the sweat shops.
4. The 40-hour, 5-day week will prevail in the industry.
5. Except, that for two months preceding Easter Sunday and during September and October, four hours may be worked on Saturday, at prescribed overtime rates.
6. There will be no wage increase. One year after the agreement, however, the wage question will be opened up, with the impartial chairman empowered to hand down a binding decision.
7. Employers must live up to the agreement if they leave the Industrial Council; they must operate a complete inside factory to be a party to the agreement; they shall pay pro rata for maintaining the joint control commission; they shall be subject to the agreement if outside the associations, and deposit cash security for proper performance; and jobbers shall be responsible for seven days' pay when submanufacturers go bankrupt.
8. Unemployment insurance shall be reintroduced when practicable.
9. Reorganization shall be done only in 1930 and 1931, and for but one week, ending the last Friday in June. No reductions in wages.
10. No discharges because of union activity. The impartial chairman shall determine disputed cases.

Large department stores, chain-store companies, and mail order houses had been recently responsible for undermining conditions through maintaining the sweat shops. The union followed up its collective agreement with the manufacturers, jobbers and contractors, by signing up many of these newcomers who were taking an increasing percentage of the output.

PHILADELPHIA CLOTHING WORKERS

Strategic Non-Union Center Organized.—For years the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America had spent large sums of money and a tremendous amount of effort to organize Philadelphia, which, with its open-shop and low wage conditions vitally threatened the rates and standards of the union shops throughout the country, and particularly those of New York City. To organize Philadelphia was of the utmost importance to the organization. The signing up of the Philadelphia employers, beginning with the Navytone Co. on July 27th, after the first strike had been called on this firm on June 13, 1929, and continuing through the summer and fall, was a great victory for the union.

J. B. S. Hardman, editor of the *Advance*, official organ of the union, notes in the October 4th issue that the Amalgamated faced many obstacles in its campaign of organization: (1) the fear of the workers that "the appearance of the union in Philadelphia would indicate the end of the industry and of their employ"; the fear of the employers that the Amalgamated was solely interested in other unionized markets; (2) the sub-contracting or *padrone* system, deeply rooted among the Italian workers; (3) the presence of the United Garment Workers of the American Federation of Labor, and opposed to the Amalgamated; (4) the failure of past efforts to unionize Philadelphia.

The Amalgamated threw all its resources into the campaign; raised hundreds of thousands of dollars to take care of those called out, as well as to fight a drastic and sweeping injunction; used "every possible source of influence from various friendly-to-the-union" groups and individuals, gave no provocation for arrests—there was no violence whatever—and won public support. Sidney Hillman, president, personally directed the struggle and utilized every man and woman inside and outside the union at his or her proper post. The national and local leaders impressed the workers and employers with a will to win, held the strikers with buoyant meetings, and showed bargaining skill in the agreements

signed. The union secured the abolition of the vicious, sub-contracting system, wage-increases for the underpaid, above all, a large rank and file to assimilate and educate in unionism, and the right of collective bargaining in the Philadelphia market.

NEW ORLEANS STREET-CAR MEN

Problem of Union Control.—Prior to the taking over of the street railway property by the New Orleans Public Service, Inc., in 1922, amicable relations existed between men and management. For the last seven years, however, the union employes complained of violation of the agreement's provisions regarding adjustment of grievances, and charged the company with an attempt through its own loyal association to undermine and destroy the union. In the strike call of July 1, 1929, the union declared that it had failed to secure a satisfactory understanding "regarding adjustments and suspensions and dismissals through arbitration." The statement of the operating company conceded the point. About 1,550 motormen, conductors, pitmen and helpers, members of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes, were involved.

Efforts of the company to run street cars led to repeated violence, with a number of persons wounded, one fatally. A federal injunction was issued. Street cars were burnt. The building trades threatened a general strike. The strikers indicated their bitter resentment toward certain city officials. All endeavors of civic groups to secure a settlement failed. President William Green, Father John O'Grady of Washington, President William D. Mahon of the international union, and the representatives of the company met in New York and reached a tentative agreement on September 5. The strikers rejected it, however, when they discovered that 217 employes whom the company called loyal workers would take seniority and precede any strikers, and that only 400 of the latter would be placed, the others as soon or late as the company wished, if at all. On October 17 the company announced an end of all negotiations with the men. The strike continued to the end of the year with no settlement in sight. The international appealed to its various divisions to send financial assistance on several occasions.

IV. LABOR POLITICS

SOCIALIST PARTY

New York City Election.—The outstanding event in the history of the Socialist Party in 1929 was the campaign waged by its candidate for Mayor of New York City, Norman Thomas, and the size of the vote he and his running mates received. Mr. Thomas secured a total of 175,697 votes, Charles Solomon, candidate for comptroller, 90,068, and Algernon Lee, for president of the board of aldermen, 87,520. In 1925 Mr. Thomas received 39,574 votes. His total in 1929 was greater than that given Morris Hillquit in 1917, but smaller in terms of percentages of the total vote cast. The vote of the Socialist Party candidates for Mayor of New York City, since its formation, follows:

Vote for Mayor, New York City, Socialist Party, 1901-1929

Year	Candidate	Vote	Year	Candidate	Vote
1901	Ben Hanford.....	9,834	1913	Charles E. Russell....	32,057
1903	Charles Furman	16,596	1917	Morris Hillquit	145,332
1905	Algernon Lee	11,817	1921	Jacob Panken	82,607
1909	Edward F. Cassidy...	11,168	1925	Norman Thomas	39,574
			1929	Norman Thomas	175,697

The nomination of Fiorello H. LaGuardia by a divided Republican Party, and James J. Walker by the Democratic Party (Tammany Hall), aided Norman Thomas. LaGuardia did not have the approach nor the platform, nor did he wage the kind of campaign that would appeal to traditional anti-Tammany Republican voters. Mayor Walker did not satisfy liberals who had begun to believe in a "New Tammany."

The Socialist candidate for mayor took the concrete and thought-out planks of his party platform, which he had helped fashion, and made them the basis of a unique and persistent educational campaign. He fired question after question at Mayor Walker. He took and held the offensive by an expert, incisive and Socialist interpretation of municipal problems, aided by a Municipal Research Bureau, set up by Louis Stanley, and by the Labor Research Department of the Rand School, of which Nathan Fine is director. He obtained an amount of space and front-page publicity in the leading daily newspapers—assisted by Edward Levinson of the *New Leader*—never before secured by a Socialist candi-

date for public office in New York City. He won the editorial endorsement of the Scripps-Howard newspaper, the *Telegram*, and the friendly support of several others.

With G. August Gerber as campaign manager, Marx Lewis, executive secretary, and August Claessens, organizer, and a Committee of Action, comprising the leading Socialists, the party membership was organized for the campaign. A committee of 1,000 non-partisans was gotten together in behalf of Mr. Thomas, and a special women's committee functioned through its own headquarters. Such men and women as John Dewey, John Lovejoy Elliott, Henry Neumann, Stephen Wise, Heywood Broun, J. Howard Melish, Harry E. Fosdick, John Haynes Holmes, and Fola LaFollette, the daughter of the late senator, spoke and wrote for the Socialist candidate for mayor. Charles Solomon, Algernon Lee and the local candidates greatly aided in marshalling the unprecedented vote for the head of the ticket and the unusually good poll for the balance of the Socialists.

Norman Thomas published large extracts of the shelved "Cooperative and Constructive School Survey" ordered by the Board of Education, and forced it to bring it out before the election. He vigorously attacked a number of city magistrates, with the result that immediately after the election numerous investigations of these inferior courts were begun. By his informed statements Mr. Thomas won for himself and the Socialist Party a hearing in the daily press of New York City, after, as well as during the election.

Municipal Platform.—The main demands of the platform were:

Demands of the Socialist Party Platform, New York City, 1929

Transit

1. The establishment of a unified system of transportation to be managed and operated without profit by a public transit corporation entirely controlled by the people and the transit employees on the lines, in the shops and in the offices. Further, to free the transportation system from bureaucracy and partisan politics, we advocate the rigid application of the merit system for all grades of transit employees. The directorate of this public transit corporation shall be chosen by the representatives of each political party in the Board of Aldermen in proportion to the total vote of each party in the Mayoralty election, choice to be made by the executive committee of the party in any case where a party is unrepresented on the Board of Aldermen. Direct representation shall also be given to the employees on the directorate.

2. Recapture of the city-built subways and the releasing of over \$300,000,000 now invested in the old subways for the immediate construction of new subways and other public improvements.

3. New lines shall be financed partly out of monies available and made available under this plan, partly out of fares and partly out of assessments against property directly benefited. Such lines shall be built as rapidly as possible for the relief of the people. They should be knitted together with the existing lines, transfers being given at appropriate points. By efficient management and the elimination of private profits and the present unnecessary rentals, the five-cent fare can and shall be maintained.

Police and the Courts

1. The reorganization of the police department and its administration free from graft, favoritism and political domination.

2. Popular election of magistrates and the right of jury trial in the magistrates' courts upon demand.

3. Public defenders in the criminal courts to afford equal protection under the law.

Housing, Parks and Playgrounds

1. A scientific zoning of the city with proper provisions for parks and playgrounds.

2. A continuance of the emergency rent laws for the protection of tenants in the lowest rent-paying groups. Both parties allowed these laws to lapse, only enacting a new municipal law after the landlords had been given an opportunity to increase rents greatly in those portions of the city where every increase in rent is a burden.

3. The abolition of old law tenements in which one-third of our population still lives. These tenements, condemned as far back as 1901, at the present rate of progress will continue in use for another thirty years. The dwelling house law of 1929, passed by a Republican legislature and signed by a Democratic Governor, instead of providing for the abandonment of all such tenements within a specified period of time prolongs their life. It does not even enforce such obviously necessary standards as proper fire-proofing of stairways, windows in every room, a toilet for every family, and abolition of the use of cellars for dwellings.

4. Municipal housing. It is useless to condemn old housing unless decent new housing can be provided. Not only our slums but the packing box fire trap housing in new sections of the city is a disgrace which would not be tolerated by any progressive city. Except for some philanthropic effort, and the success of some cooperative ventures nothing has been done on this problem in the last four years. The State Housing law of 1926 providing for limited dividend companies is the failure that we predicted at the time of its enactment. Mayor Walker's alternative plan of housing built by philanthropic capital on land acquired by the city through excess condemnation has as yet built not one single apartment. We Socialists have always advocated the principle of excess condemnation but the housing situation will never be solved by the few spectacular ventures on the East Side even if the Mayor's plans ever get beyond the stage of vote-catching talk.

Education

1. The Board of Education to be selected to represent a cross-section of public opinion and the interests of the people. It shall consist of members to be chosen by each political group in the Board of Aldermen in proportion to the vote cast at the last mayoralty election for the Party of that group. Political parties not represented in the Board of Aldermen shall choose members of the Board through their Executive Committees on the proportionate basis of the vote cast. There

shall also be representatives on the Board of Education directly chosen by the people.

2. The Board of Superintendents to be replaced by a representative supervisory council composed of District Superintendents, Directors of Bureaus and Divisions, Principals, and Teachers freely elected by the members of these respective groups.

3. The merit-system of appointment and promotion to be observed in spirit as well as in letter.

4. An adequate number of ungraded and vocational classes to be provided for pupils unsuited for regular work.

5. Development of the Continuation Schools and provision of scholarship allowances to enable boys and girls of working age and of proved ability to continue at school.

6. All schools to be provided with well-equipped and up-to-date playgrounds.

7. The development of Experimental Classes as a means to the improvement of educational methods.

8. The adoption of a comprehensive system of replacement and new building.

9. Reorganization of the training of teachers so as to raise professional standards and especially to equip future teachers with knowledge of social and economic conditions.

10. Complete elimination of censorship over the political, religious, and economic views of the teachers.

Gas, Electricity and Superpower

1. Expert investigation of the breakdown of regulation of all public utilities in New York State under laws passed and commissions appointed by old party politicians. (Especially we demand investigation, looking, if necessary, to the removal of the public service commissioners who permitted the merger of the Brooklyn Edison and Consolidated Gas without any guarantee that the benefits of the resultant economies shall go to the consumers.)

2. Direct distribution under public agencies of electricity generated under public authority from public power sites. Neither the generation nor the distribution of power from these sites must be allowed to pass into private hands. The Republican Legislature would hand over our power interests to private corporations. The Democratic Governor would leave distribution—which is the controlling factor in the power situation—in private hands. We would keep both production and distribution of power in public hands.

Food and Markets

1. The elimination of the graft, inefficiency and discrimination found in our market places.

2. The establishment of such terminal, farmers' wholesale and retail markets as may be required to supply the consumers of the city with food in the most scientific and inexpensive manner.

3. The setting up of public agencies, co-operative or municipal, for the supply of milk and ice at cost.

4. The gathering and broadcasting of facts regarding the scarcity and surplus of any commodity.

5. The formation of a Food Commission containing adequate representation from labor, technical experts and housewives to take charge of the foregoing city food services.

Tammany's Anti-Labor Policy

We indict Tammany for its anti-labor policy which is largely responsible for the company union on the Interborough Rapid Transit system; the shameless treatment of the city engineers in their struggle for decent wages; the continuance of the shocking third degree methods of arresting suspects who have

no political influence and the frequent abuse of police power in dealing with lawful and peaceful strikes; and for the violation of the law providing for the maintenance of the prevailing rate of wages on city work.

Efficiency In Government

We pledge ourselves to work for a revision and simplification of the cumbersome city charter, for the scientific consolidation of city and county offices, and the elimination of political jobs. We favor a high standard of pay for city employees.

Taxation and Budget

In ten years of Democratic administration the city budget of New York has risen over 100 percent to a total of about \$600,000,000. Less than half of this increase can be accounted for by increases in salaries or by the constructive social services of the city. The City of New York under proper taxation can afford to pay for the services it needs; it cannot afford the wastes and graft for which Tammany budget methods are responsible. We pledge ourselves to their elimination.

Moreover, we pledge ourselves to a just and scientific system of taxation, to the appraisal of real estate at its full value, as directed by law and to the principle that society which alone creates the rental value of land should receive that which it creates. Therefore, we favor a plan, similar to that which has benefited small home owners elsewhere, for progressively putting a higher burden of taxation on land than on buildings and improvements to the land.

Injunctions and Picketing

The rights of organized labor on the picket lines and in the courts are flagrantly disregarded. Police and judges make themselves in effect the allies of employers in industrial disputes. Persistent arrests of workers engaged in lawful picketing and their conviction with avidity in the magistrates courts are the order of the day. Courts of equity, without regard to the political complexion of their incumbents, issue drastic injunctions against the workers, destructive of their rights and undermining the very existence of their organizations.

We demand again, and pledge our elected representatives to work for, the complete abolition of the practice of issuing injunctions in labor disputes, and pending the realization of this object, the modification of the law.

1. To provide against issuance of injunctions in labor disputes before full and complete trial of the issue, and

2. Jury trials in proceedings to punish for contempt for alleged violation of injunction orders, such trials to be presided over by a judge other than the one issuing the injunction.

General Welfare

1. We pledge ourselves to the maintenance of the highest standards of community health which requires not only the housing, parks and play-grounds we have advocated but an efficient and modern system of sewage disposal, lack of which causes among other things the pollution of our beaches, and an efficient and non-political health and hospital department. We deplore the fact that in adopting our recommendations for the erection of a special hospital department the Walker Administration packed the department with political appointees.

2. We pledge ourselves to the proper care of the aged and unfortunate. This means for the city reform of shocking conditions under which old people are herded together in barracks

as on Welfare Island. It means for the State the prompt passage of an adequate old-age pension law and state insurance against sickness.

3. We pledge ourselves in the war against unemployment to the establishment of adequate public employment exchanges, of a state system of unemployment insurance and to State and municipal provisions for the use of public works to provide employment in dull times.

We propose the foregoing program in order to make the city government a means of emancipation rather than exploitation. This is only the immediate part of our program.

The Socialist Party and its candidates are pledged not merely to these specific measures of relief. The Socialist Party and its candidates are pledged to the building of a militant political party as an effective instrument for emancipation from political chicanery and economic and social injustice.

No single victory can be more significant and heartening than a large vote for all the candidates of the Socialist Party.

Election Gains Elsewhere.—The Socialist Party also registered victories and increased polls in the local elections in Reading, Milwaukee, Los Angeles, Boston, Cleveland, and Bridgeport. In Reading it won the remaining two seats on the council by electing Hoverter and George and secured approval of a Socialist administration which had been swept into office in November, 1927. In his message of January, 1929, Mayor J. Henry Stump proposed the acquisition of a municipally owned electric plant. The Socialists had already built a new city hall at considerable saving, had improved the financial condition of the town, and had fixed tax assessments to the satisfaction of the home owners. In Milwaukee the party gained one member on the school board by electing three of its candidates, besides reelecting an alderman and a justice of the peace. It has six aldermen out of 25. Mayor Hoan successfully fought off the attempt of the opposition to deprive him of his appointive powers. The police are now on the 8-hour day and old age pensions are dispensed in Milwaukee County.

In the primary election for members of the school board in Los Angeles two Socialist candidates received over 35,000 votes apiece. Joseph Bearak, running for the city council of Boston, obtained 3,773 votes, against 4,706 for the victor. His poll in 1927 was 2,147. Two candidates for the Cleveland council were defeated by small margins. In Bridgeport Jasper McLevy, candidate for mayor, received 1,984 votes, a gain over recent years.

Political Policy.—The vote that Norman Thomas received being about twice that for the two other Socialist candidates Solomon and Lee, and the support given him by non-Socialists, raised a problem for the New York City Socialists: how

could they retain or incorporate such a following, and what practical policies should they pursue in the future? A city-wide convention was accordingly held on November 23-24, and adjourned to November 30. A proposal that a committee be chosen to make contacts with labor and progressive groups in favor of independent political action was defeated by the close vote of 73 to 67, after Morris Hillquit made a vigorous speech against it. The majority felt that it was inadvisable at this time to stress the building of the Socialist Party.

The convention decided to launch an intensive campaign to secure 10,000 new members, with Marx Lewis in charge. It lowered the dues from \$6 to \$1 a year, with an initiation fee of \$1. It voted to continue the Municipal Research Bureau, to increase the facilities of radio station WEVD, and to assist the youth organization. It defined the political policy of the Socialist Party as follows:

I. The Socialist Party has a consistent political program for city, state and national, and for international relations. Its members are united on the basis of their common acceptance of that platform. But within this self-imposed and self-understood limitation, it permits the widest latitude of individual opinion and action. It is in no sense dogmatic or sectarian and throws its doors wide open to all men and women who accept its fundamental principles, without distinction of class, creed or race.

II. The Socialist Party does not claim and does not desire a monopoly of progressive or labor politics. If any new body should in the future give promise of uniting the workers and progressive citizens into one effective political body the Socialist Party will meet the situation in a friendly and generous spirit and will be ready to join it as it did in 1924, without insisting on the acceptance of its name or of every article of its political faith and program.

But since the Socialist Party is at this time the only important political body in the United States definitely and consistently committed to the cause of labor and social progress, it holds that it will best serve the cause by building up its own organization throughout the country. The Socialist Party appeals to all persons who accept our program to cooperate with it for the accomplishment of this task by entering the active ranks of the party.

III. In the City of New York we shall continue to cooperate on particular purposes with nonpartisan groups which cannot or will not unite with us as a party but which are interested in the discovery of facts and in an aggressive fight against misgovernment, provided, however, that such cooperation is on conditions that do not compromise our own municipal program or our deep-seated opposition to both the old parties.

IV. The Socialist Party is not wedded to its name and if there should ever be good reason for changing it, it will not hesitate to do it. But no such reason seems to exist at this time. The Socialist parties all over the world have gained the respect of large masses of thinking people by their sincere and courageous advocacy of world peace, their defense of the underdog and their struggles for political democracy.

civil liberties and social justice. We are Socialists, are proud of it, and shall continue the name Socialist Party unless or until new conditions should make a change of name advisable.

Trade Union Policy.—When the executive council of the American Federation of Labor condemned Brookwood, the official weekly organ of the Socialist Party, the *New Leader* defended the labor college. In its issue of January 12, 1929, it ran a front half-page story, with a headline in heavy type: Is Matthew Woll True to Labor? In a number of subsequent issues it kept up the criticism and assailed the National Civic Federation and other organizations with which it accused Woll of being connected and whose policies he supported. This vigorous onslaught caused the board of directors and the association responsible for the paper to hold several meetings to consider the trade union policy of the party. There were two sides. One attacked the articles as contrary to well-established Socialist Party tactics, and as more befitting the methods of the old Socialist Labor Party and the present Communist Party. It also claimed that the articles were a departure in approaching the problem and should not have been run without first consulting the *New Leader* board. The other side declared that the *New Leader* had for some time been running critical material along the same line, and that it was vital to separate the unions and unionists from the influence of "Wollism." No resolution was adopted nor was any action taken. Although a number of outstanding Socialists participated in the organization of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action in May, 1929, they did so as individuals; other outstanding Socialists are opposed to it. The party itself has taken no official stand toward it.

Death of Berger.—Victor L. Berger, who took an intimate and active part in the Socialist movement for nearly fifty years, died on August 7, 1929, from injuries received when struck by a street car. He was born on February 28, 1860, in Austria-Hungary, and came to this country when a young man. He originally belonged to the Socialist Labor Party, broke away in 1889, cooperated with the Populists, helped to make Eugene Victor Debs a Socialist and joined him in the founding of the Social Democratic Party, which united with a seceding faction of the Socialist Labor Party to form the present Socialist Party. He was the editor of the *Social Democratic Herald*, started in 1900, and of the daily *Milwaukee Leader*, its successor, launched in 1911. He was the first Socialist elected to Congress, in 1910, and was chiefly responsible for making and keeping Milwaukee a Socialist

city. During the war he was denied his seat in the lower house, and was sentenced to prison for 20 years. He was a delegate to numerous conventions of the American Federation of Labor and fought Samuel Gompers for a generation. He possessed an extensive library, of which he was proud, and was a close student of Socialism and social science. Upon the death of Debs in 1926, Victor L. Berger became chairman of the party. Together with Morris Hillquit he was a member of the executive of the Socialist International.

August Waldinger, one of the early pioneers, a staunch supporter of the *Volkszeitung* and *Call*, and active in the trade union movement, died in New York City on November 12, 1929. Charles J. Ball and Peter Flanigan, two active Socialists of the metropolis, and Dr. Harold Gifford of Omaha, also passed away last year.

Official Changes.—William H. Henry resigned as national secretary in May and Clarence O. Senior succeeded him on August 15. The new secretary is 27 years old, a graduate of the University of Kansas, formerly active in workers' education and municipal affairs, and a member of the Teachers' Union. Mrs. Meta Berger was added to the national executive committee and Morris Hillquit was elected chairman of the party. On the occasion of his 60th birthday, August 1, a banquet was tendered to him as the outstanding leader of the party, and a volume, eight inches thick was presented to him. It contained tributes from such famous foreign Socialists as Kautsky, Adler, Bauer, Loebe, Vandervelde, Stauning, Snowden, Blum, Henderson, Mueller, as well as from leading American Socialists and trade unionists. *St. Louis Labor*, under the editorship of G. A. Hoehn, celebrated its thirtieth anniversary in 1929.

National Activities.—The party raised \$37,000 in a \$50,000 drive, under the direction of Marx Lewis. In December it started a campaign to add 30,000 new members, and urged state organizations to reduce the dues to \$1 as the New York City local had done. It contributed sums to the British Labor Party during its parliamentary election; it supported Norman Thomas' Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, and it closely cooperated in the revival of the needle trades unions. It conducted meetings to help free Mooney and Billings, and a May Day assemblage in Madison Square Garden was filled to overflowing. The party commemorated the anniversary of the death of Debs, and warmly welcomed Ramsay MacDonald when he landed in the United States

in the fall. Its leaders were partly responsible for the latter's change of mind and decision to address the Toronto convention of the American Federation of Labor. The national office took over the Negro Press Service started by Frank Crosswaith, and assisted in the southern organization work of the party. The Labor Research Department of the Rand School of Social Science is now the eastern headquarters of the research and information service of the national body. The Italian daily, *Il Nuovo Mondo*, began to appear in two editions in December, one in New York and the other in Chicago.

Young People's Socialist League.—At the biennial convention of the League, the youth organization, held in New York City, December 28-29, 1929, over 50 delegates from 35 cities, including Montreal, attended. Resolutions were adopted opposing militarism, specifically the R. O. T. C. and the C. M. T. C., demanding advanced social legislation for young workers, recognition of Soviet Russia, the six-hour day and the five-day week, the immediate release of Mooney and Billings, and pledging support to the labor movement.

Members of the League were active in strikes, New Bedford, Paterson and Passaic; raised money for Marion and Gastonia, in the South; addressed meetings, distributed literature, were arrested on the picket lines, and were active in the organization work of unions. They participated energetically in Socialist campaigns by doing Jimmy Higgins work; conducted agitation among Negroes; and carried on debates, discussions, dramatics, athletics and social affairs.

Frank Manning of Chicago is national director and the following constitute the national executive committee: Emanuel Switkes (New York) chairman; Talbert White (Cleveland), Eugene McStroul (Milwaukee), Richard Briggs (Rochester), Ben Goodman (New York), John Hall (Lynn), Abe Kalish (Boston), and Sam Bakeley (Philadelphia).

LEAGUE FOR INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION

Principles.—Within a month after the November, 1928, presidential election, a number of liberals and Socialists met in New York City to consider the political situation. They agreed upon the following two fundamentals: (1) the necessity for a new alignment in American politics; and (2) that the new party should be built on the principle of increasing social control. At subsequent meetings they adopted a platform, and named the organization League for Independent

Political Action. A leaflet entitled "Wanted: A New Political Alignment," contained the following principles and planks of the platform.

A political awakening is coming. No discouragements of the past should blind us to the fact that the Republican-Democratic alliance can never endure. An opposition party must arise. The building of this new party will demand great sacrifice and probably years of labor, but it must be done.

Critical constructive opposition is our greatest political need. Progress is always made by the conflict of ideas. Today in the United States there is no vital political party of opposition. Democrats in the election of 1928 revealed the fact that they have not one fundamental economic issue to distinguish them from Republicans. There never have been great differences between them but with the Democratic abandonment of a low tariff policy, all distinctions have virtually faded away. Both parties have become the political expressions of the great business groups.

Although we are living in a period of general and far reaching economic and industrial transformation, there has been no corresponding political realignment in this country. Sharing the widespread conviction that the issues nominally dividing the two major parties are unreal and that neither party, in spite of large dissenting groups within them, desires nor is able to face present-day conditions, we propose to the American public the desirability of a new political alignment based upon the realities of American life.

The ground upon which forward-looking people in existing parties and those independent of existing parties can be united for effective action, is the conviction that economic conditions in the United States must be rationally adjusted to social needs and interests. The solution rests in a new political alignment, whereby economic liberals will leave the old parties as the expression of conservatism and will unite to build up a new party based on the principle of increasing social control.

General Principles

In contrast to the old parties with their "rugged individualism" this new party in the field of public utilities for more effective service to the people would take over strategic industries which are now being grossly mismanaged by private interests or which are exploiting the public by exorbitant charges and the regulation of which has broken down. Such a party will, of course, oppose turning over Muscle Shoals and Boulder Dam to private hands and would seek public control of the generation, transmission and distribution of power, ensuring to the consumers and to industry the economies and comforts of an integrated super-power system, which otherwise will fall into monopoly control. It will seek to organize the sadly disorganized coal industry under democratic management, with a view to closing down the surplus mines, transferring without hardship the excess workers, integrating the coal mines with the development of power and giving greater freedom in their working lives to the miners. Our transportation system would also be brought more adequately under social control.

Taxation

A basic problem is the more equal distribution of the immense wealth which this country possesses. Our present system which permits some to have so much more than they need and often without working for it, means that others cannot have enough to provide the actual needs of life. A

solution cannot be reached without legislation, to skim off through progressive taxes on unearned incomes, inheritances and the increase in land values those surplus gains which are not necessary to induce effective service, which are the result of monopoly, and the reception of which largely causes the maintenance and growth of inequality. These sums should be used to help democratize industry and to provide for the poor that minimum of health and recreation which can never be secured through economic organization alone, nor by adherence to one of the major parties. The men who would be thus taxed control both the Republican and Democratic organizations and would sabotage such legislation. Only new political representation can produce for the workers those opportunities to be achieved through greater equalization of incomes.

Protection of Workers

Labor ought to be protected by social insurance from the hazards of accident, ill health, unemployment and old age. Unemployment is one of the outstanding issues of the United States today. Time-saving devices and the stretch-out system which speeds up the machinery and compels the worker to keep up as well as oversee more machines, are throwing thousands out of work. This scheme produces more accidents and disease and now tends to scrap the worker at forty-five years of age. The employers are not going to protect against these evils in any adequate way. They must help pay the cost and will never do it, speaking generally, until forced to do so by legislation. The leaders of the old parties will not work for the enactment of these laws because the Republican and Democratic parties are merely the political expressions of the great business organizations. These latter do not intend to help pay the bills for social insurance and will fight to the death, through the political organizations which they control, every effort seeking such an accomplishment. If we want social insurance, we must help to build up a new party.

The workers also find themselves today under legal restrictions which, in the form of "yellow dog" contracts, injunctions, the use of militia and United States marshals virtually prohibit boycotting and effective peaceful picketing, rendering trade unionism ineffective. The barbarous use of coal and iron police by the mine operators during the coal strike, the securing of injunctions that forbade the miners even to gather in churches and sing hymns, or to appear upon the streets more than two together, the beating of peaceful pickets, and all the injustice inspired by mill policies in the Southern textile region, must go never to return. America needs a party in control of government that will not permit the use of gunmen to shoot the workers down, but will safeguard them in their right to collective bargaining.

Justice to Farmers

The farmers need a party to protect them from the tariff wolves. A new party would fight for a program of farm relief which by lowering the tariff on manufactured goods, would help to readjust the present disparity between the prices of agriculture and manufactured commodities through decreasing the prices of the goods the farmers buy; and which by building up a greater foreign market would increase the prices of what he sells. The provision of adequate farm credits and insurance against natural calamities would also be of practical assistance. Especially should the government foster both producers' and consumers' cooperative societies and cooperatively managed wheat and cotton pools. No effective farm relief is conceivable, however, until the farmer ceases to be the football of old-party politics.

The new party will liberate the people from the burden of the tariff favoring special groups and will steadily approach the eventual goal of free trade, as an aid to the soundest prosperity and international good-will, and for the purpose of reducing special privilege, political corruption, and exploitation by favored interests.

The restoration of political rights to Negroes and the freedom of foreign-born citizens from a semi-caste system in those sections where, either by law or by custom they are now disfranchised, will be another aim of such a party. So long as a million voters of the Northwest, for example, can send only twelve representatives to Congress while a million voters of the South can send nearly four times that number, the most elementary basis for democratic government is unattainable, as forward-looking citizens of the new South are increasingly aware.

International Relations

Finally, the people must be insured against another world war. Great economic causes led us into the last war. At the risk of international ill-will our financial interests have used our marines in Nicaragua and the Caribbean to protect their investments. It is their struggle for the control of raw materials, foreign markets and foreign investments that makes a future war possible. Their agents in political power will respond to their desires. If the people are to be protected fully from the dangers of another world war, if there is to be a more democratic control of the foreign policies of our government, then the people must control the political machinery that finally declares war. That means a new political party in this country that will not countenance war as a means for the settlement of disputes, that will make a sincere and determined effort to eliminate the economic, psychological and political causes of war; it means the substitution of conference, conciliation, arbitration and judicial processes for our policy of domination in Central America and the Caribbean; the fulfillment of our pledge of independence for the Philippines; drastic reduction of war debts, as sound financial and international policy; uncompromising resistance to all attempts at the militarization of American public opinion, such as compulsory military training of our youth and the propaganda for large military and naval preparedness; cooperation with other countries in creating an adequate structure of international organization, in making effective the outlawry of war and in securing disarmament on sea and land and in the air; and participation in all agencies helping to keep the peace and remove the occasions of war.

Not a New Party.—The official statement declared that "the League does not intend itself to become the new party but rather to act as a coordinating agency bringing together all those groups which ought to unite in the formation of such a party": The Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota, the Socialist Party, progressive elements now working in the old parties, the labor movement, the agricultural bloc, the professional group, the liberal newspaper field and the religious groups. The aim of the League "is to begin at the bottom and in strategic situations to cooperate with local groups in building up disciplined movements of the people centering first on municipal and congressional campaigns."

The League will act as a clearing house for up-to-date information concerning all agencies seeking a political realignment, emphasize research work, publish pamphlets with the results of such study, carry on an educational campaign through a speakers' bureau, the use of radio, magazine articles and conferences, and organize local political movements all over the United States.

Officers.—Professor John Dewey, the philosopher and educator, is chairman of the national committee; James H. Maurer, member of the national executive committee of the Socialist Party, alderman of Reading, and former president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, Professor Paul H. Douglas, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, the colored editor and author, and Hannah Clothier Hull, leader of women's, peace and Quaker groups, are vice chairmen. Devere Allen of the *World Tomorrow* is chairman of the executive committee, while Howard Y. Williams is executive secretary. Mr. Williams was formerly very active in the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party, and was a candidate for Mayor of St. Paul and for Congress. The members of the executive and national committees are:

Executive Committee

Devere Allen
John Dewey
Paul H. Douglas
W. E. B. DuBois
Sherwood Eddy
Morris L. Ernst
Helen H. Fincke

Jesse H. Holmes
James W. Johnson
Harry W. Laidler
E. C. Lindeman
Robert M. Lovett
James H. Maurer
A. J. Muste

Reinhold Niebuhr
Kirby Page
Mrs. Glenn Plumb
Evelyn Preston
Joseph Schlossberg
Norman Thomas
Oswald G. Villard
B. C. Vladeck

National Committee

W. Lewis Abbott
Harry E. Barnes
Paul Blanshard
LeRoy Bowman
Paul Brissenden
John Brophy
Stuart Chase
George A. Coe
McAlister Coleman
George L. Collins
Helen Everett
Edwin Fairley
Nathan Fine

William Floyd
Zona Gale
Powers Hapgood
William P. Hapgood
Alfred Hayes
A. A. Heist
Hubert Herring
Lillian Herstein
John H. Holmes
Hannah C. Hull
Rabbi E. L. Israel
Bishop Paul Jones
Caroline LaMonte

William Mahoney
Alex. Meiklejohn
Fred Atkins Moore
Henry Neuman
Bishop E. L. Parson
John Nevin Sayre
Vida D. Scudder
H. G. Teigen
Constance Todd
Miriam Van Waters
C. A. Warne
(Others to be added)

The dues of the organization are \$2 for active, \$1 for student, and \$10 for contributing members. Headquarters are at 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York City. *The Nation*, *World Tomorrow*, *Minnesota Union Advocate*, *Federation News*, and a number of other labor papers have run editorials or articles in behalf of the League.

LABOR AND FARMER-LABOR PARTIES

Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party.—A farmer-labor conference was held on September 5, 1929, to prepare for the 1930 election, when the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party is confident it can elect the governor of the state. The conference picked Elling Munkeby of Duluth as chairman, Joseph A. Poirier of Minneapolis as secretary, and decided to organize throughout the state and establish a state paper. The committee on program of action consisted of William Mahoney of St. Paul as chairman, R. C. Arnold of Lebek, P. F. DeMore of Duluth, N. A. Pederson of Milan, and F. A. Scherf of Red Wing. In the Minneapolis election of June, 1929, one alderman and a member of the school board were reelected. O. J. Kvale, Farmer-Labor Party congressman since 1922, perished in a fire which destroyed his Summer cottage on September 10, 1929. His son was elected in his place.

Kenosha, Wisconsin.—During the strike of full-fashioned hosiery workers and as a result of the action of city officials, a labor ticket was put up in the April, 1929, election. A hostile district attorney was defeated for a municipal judgeship by a labor candidate. Six county supervisors were also elected, including a member of the general strike committee.

New Bedford, Massachusetts.—A labor party was organized as an aftermath of the textile strike of 1928 by delegates from local unions of the American Federation of Labor, the Women's Trade Union League, and the Workmen's Circle. At a subsequent election it sent several members to the city council. In Elizabethton, Tennessee, the workers returned three out of the five commissioners of the city council in the July, 1929, election, which was held in the wake of a strike situation.

Niagara Falls, New York.—Officials of the central labor union took the initiative in launching a local labor party on June 28, 1929, which nominated candidates for the Fall election.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

Municipal Platform.—In the New York City election of November, 1929, the Socialist Labor Party adopted a municipal platform which expressed its point of view. The most important extracts follow:

The Socialist Labor Party declares that neither the traction, school, crime, nor graft problem can be solved until capitalism is overthrown. All are but manifestations of our present system of production for profits. They are all effects of capi-

talism. So long as production and distribution are organized for the sole purpose of profit-making, so long will we continue to be beset on all sides by unsolvable problems.

Nor can capitalism be reformed; not for its perpetuation nor toward its abolition. Accordingly, all reform programs proposed in the name of labor by so-called Socialist, Communist, labor or citizen's reform parties are shams and delusions just as much as are the proposals of the old-time politicians. We cannot make life any better or more bearable under the present system. Cancer-like it daily grows worse and the longer the operation is put off the worse the patient becomes.

The Socialist Labor Party engages in no utopian dreams of alleviating the misery of the working class while the profit system endures. It unqualifiedly and without equivocation declares that capitalism must be done away with, root and limb, and that a new society must be built in its place. This new society will have for its basis not how much profit can be extracted from the muscle and sinew of the working class, but how much comfort and ease we may all enjoy as a reward for our labors. Production for use will take the place of production for profit. . . .

However, as these problems are not peculiar to New York, neither can they be abolished in New York alone. To eradicate them requires the organization of the whole working class of America, in city and country, into a class-conscious political party with "The abolition of capitalism" as its only demand. And that political party must be backed by a class-conscious, aggressive, Socialist Industrial Union which will be the might behind the right of their ballots, and at the same time constitute the framework of the new social system, Socialism.

Olive M. Johnson, the editor of the official national organ, *Weekly People*, who ran for Mayor of New York received 6,602 votes, August Gillhaus, for comptroller, 3,760 and Henry Kuhn, for president of the board of aldermen, 3,850. In 1925 the candidate for mayor received 1,886 votes.

Activities.—The party operates three publishing and printing plants: (1) at the national headquarters, 45 Rose Street, New York City; (2) at the Bulgarian Socialist Labor Federation headquarters, Granite City, Ill., and (3) at the South Slavonian Socialist Labor Federation headquarters, Cleveland, Ohio. Besides the English weekly, the party issues four foreign language papers, in Hungarian, South Slavonian, Bulgarian and Greek. Arnold Petersen is national secretary, while the following are members of the national executive committee: J. C. Butterworth, W. W. Cox, P. E. DeLee, J. D. Goerke, Theo. Gramaticoff, Jos. Mackay, Peter McDermott, F. Rack, and U. A. Upton.

COMMUNIST ORGANIZATIONS

Four Groups.—The organized Communist movement of the United States is divided into four groups. Their names, dates of founding, and outstanding leaders follow:

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date of Founding</i>	<i>Outstanding Leader</i>
Communist Party (Branch of Communist International)	Dec., 1921	William Z. Foster
Communist Party of the U. S. A. (Majority Group)	July, 1929	Jay Lovestone
Communist League of America (Opposition)	Nov., 1928	James P. Cannon
Proletarian Party	June, 1920	John Keracher

Proletarian Party.—On March 29, 1923, the Proletarian Party was requested by the Communist International to liquidate and join the Workers' (Communist) Party—former name of the Communist Party—but refused to do so. It began and has continued as a relatively small educational and propaganda body, it has not run candidates for public office and has not participated very actively in the struggles of the workers on the economic field.

Majority Group and Opposition.—The Communist Party of the U. S. A. (Majority Group) and the Communist League of America (Opposition) are more serious factors in the Communist movement of the United States. The Communist Party is the only organization recognized by the Communist International, it has control of the party apparatus and dominates the auxiliary organizations.

COMMUNIST PARTY

Summary.—The year 1929 saw the expulsion of Lovestone, Gitlow, Wolfe, and a large number of their followers, and their formation of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. (Majority Group); the organization of the Trade Union Unity League; the Gastonia trial; the New York City election campaign; the effort to continue publication of the *Daily Worker*, which suspended for one day; repercussions of happenings in Palestine; renewed attempts to reach the Negroes; efforts to organize the unemployed; and demonstrations and protests leading to serious clashes with the police.

Convention Divisions.—The convention of the Workers' (Communist) Party opened on March 4, 1929, with nine-tenths of the delegates committed to the program and leadership of the then majority group, headed by Jay Lovestone, Benjamin Gitlow, Bertram Wolfe, et al. The executive committee of the Communist International—the supreme body between conventions of the world international—made certain demands of both the majority and minority—led by William Z. Foster and Alexander Bittelman. According to the Ad-

dress of the Ecce (executive committee of the Communist International), Jay Lovestone, joint secretary with William Z. Foster of the party, opposed the demands and declared that there was "a running sore" in the apparatus of the Moscow executive. "The convention," the Address further said, "became an arena for unprincipled maneuvers on the part of the leaders of the majority as well as on the part of the leaders of the minority," and the organizational proposals of the Comintern (Communist International) were not carried out. The leaders of the American party were then called to Moscow. At the headquarters of the Comintern some of the spokesmen for the majority refused to accept a condemnation of themselves in an open letter and address of the executive; they refused to accept the destruction of their leadership in the party; and they refused to assume responsibility for what they described as an ultra-left course for the American situation. Late in June, 1929, the central committee of the Communist Party of America announced the expulsion of Jay Lovestone. It stated that he had tried to capture the party's property, and that he had disobeyed orders of the Comintern by leaving Moscow on June 11 for the United States. In August it expelled Gitlow, Wolfe, and a number of other prominent Communists, besides their followers. Several American Communist leaders, who had cooperated closely with Lovestone both in this country and in Moscow before the split did not join him in his new organization, but remained in the Communist Party of America.

The regular party officials accused Lovestone and his group of having "burglarized" the national party office on August 25, 1929. They eliminated, wherever they could, supporters of both oppositions—"Trotskyites" as well as "Lovestoneites"—from the unions and the auxiliary organizations. In the early part of October a plenum of the central committee added the following members to the small, ruling political committee: William F. Dunne, John Schmies, Harrison George, and Clarence Hathaway. Together with William Z. Foster, Earl Browder and Jack Johnstone, they have been generally most active on the trade union field. The central executive committee issued on October 6-8, 1929, a thesis on the economic and political situation in the United States and the tasks of the Communist Party which expressed the dominant view of the Comintern and the present leadership of the American party. The platform adopted for the New York City election contained the same view, as did the resolution on the results of that campaign. The pith of it

concerns the definition of the third period of post-war capitalism:

... sharpening class contradictions, growing war danger, growing concentration of state power, development of social fascism in the unification of the labor bureaucracy and socialists with the employers and state in a concerted drive against the awakening working class and especially against its vanguard, the Communist Party.

Platform in New York Election.—The New York Communists met in convention July 14-15, 1929, to nominate candidates and adopt a platform. They picked William W. Weinstone for mayor, Otto Hall, a Negro, for comptroller, and H. M. Wicks, for president of the board of aldermen. Their official vote was 5,805, 6,147, and 6,126 respectively. In 1925 the candidate for comptroller received 3,388; Gitlow as mayoralty candidate was ruled off the ballot.

Platform of the Communist Party, New York City Election, 1929

(Excerpts)

The Impending Crisis in the United States and the War Danger

Capitalism produces misery and suffering for the workers. At the same time it produces crises, upheavals and imperialist wars, which arise out of these conditions of exploitation of the working class. This process is proceeding swiftly in the United States, which boasts of its great "prosperity" and "stability."

Capitalist "prosperity" has been built upon rationalization, which is the speeding-up of labor, the fullest possible squeezing out of the workers all their energies in ever-increasing production of wealth for the capitalists, at the cost of the workers' health, the drawing into industry of immense numbers of women and children, with constantly increasing unemployment (now permanently numbered in millions), and with the ensuing lowering of wages, and general declining of living standards. The workers, deprived of the fruits of their labor, and constantly more oppressed, are forced to fight for their very lives.

The working class of this country is not submitting peacefully to these new conditions of intensified exploitation and oppression. They are taking up the struggle against their employers and are offering firm resistance to the new devices of bloody oppression. The Negro workers are beginning to struggle against their double oppression. The strikes and the heroic battles of the Gastonia workers, of the textile slaves of Elizabethton, Marion, the pitched battles of New Orleans street carmen, the movements of militant labor for the establishment of industrial unions and a new trade union center, the fight of the needle, food, shoe, metal workers and the stirring of the slaves in the big industrial plants throughout the country are evidence of the fact that the workers are not yielding meekly to the enslaving plans of their masters and to being thrown into the shambles of another world slaughter for the sake of the profits of the exploiters.

The very increased production of American industry is bringing a new economic crisis for capitalism. The goods produced cannot be sold. The markets are too small, they cannot increase to keep pace with production. Therefore production must slow down to fit the market. More unemployed—a new shrinking of the market. Already in leading branches of American industry we see a slowing down—i. e., the verge of a new crisis.

American capitalists see this problem clearly. Thus Mr. A. P. Sloan, Jr., president of General Motors, reported to his stockholders (May, 1929):

"It is recognized that the curve of development within the U. S. must necessarily flatten out—as a matter of fact it already has—as the years progress. The opportunity for further progress in all overseas countries, however, is and will continue to be great for many years to come."

Here is disclosed the motive-force of the tremendous expansion of American imperialism in the last years. Seeking for markets where it can profitably sell its booty, the results of robbery of the American working class, the American imperialist bourgeoisie penetrates into the whole world with its capital and commodities—and where it comes up against small or weak nations, proceeds to subdue them and bring them under its control. This is the reason for the outrages in Haiti, Nicaragua, Santo Domingo, and all the countries of the Caribbean, Central and South America. This is the reason for the oppression of the Philippines, and the denial of independence to the Filipino people. This is the reason for American intrigue and military intervention in China, against the Chinese workers and peasants. This is the reason for the growing antagonism, the developing war, between Great Britain and the United States. And above all, this is the reason for the preparations for war to overthrow the Soviet Union which has taken one-sixth of the whole world away from the imperialist market seekers.

Here is also the explanation for the rising tide of revolutionary struggle of the peoples even of the small and weak countries, the colonies and semi-colonies, to resist the oppression and exploitation of American imperialism, to regain their national independence.

The capitalist class adopts more and more often methods of oppression resorting to fascist methods for the oppression of the working class. The struggle of Gastonia is the symbol of the widening fronts and the deepening of the class struggle. The election campaign in New York is part of the international struggle of the working class. Under the banner of class against class, the Communist Party of the U. S. A. will seek to unite the ranks of the workers for more militant action against the exploiting class, to expose the imperialist war mongers and their social fascist allies (the socialists, A. F. of L. chiefs, and Musteite fake progressives) to draw the working class closer together to combat the rationalization program of the capitalists, to organize the unorganized and to fight against the immediate danger of a world war, for the mobilization of the working class for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a workers' and farmers' government.

What is happening in the United States is similar to what is going on in every capitalist country in the world. That is why, in all these countries, we witness the simultaneous rising tide of strikes and political struggles, of deep revolutionary fermentation among the working masses.

In this New York election a vote for any of the bourgeois parties, democratic, republican, or socialist, is a vote to perpetuate this situation. It is therefore a vote for intensified rationalization. It is a vote for imperialist expansion. It is a

vote for suppression of the colonial peoples. It is a vote for imperialist war. For this election is also intimately bound up with the whole country and the world situation.

Defend the Soviet Union

The instability of capitalism, the development of its crisis, is hastened by the growth of the Soviet Union. The capitalists of the United States are filled with rage and fear, when they see what is going on in the Soviet Union, which under its working class rule is successfully building up socialism.

While capitalist economy is facing a crisis, because it cannot find profitable markets for the enormous production of which it robs the workers, on the contrary the Soviet Union is enormously expanding every year because it is free of markets and prices, because its production belongs to its working class. The economy of the Soviet Union is growing ten times faster than the average growth of the United States for the past fifty years.

While in the United States, and in all capitalist countries, the conditions of the workers are constantly getting worse, wages are being lowered, strikes and conflicts are spreading everywhere, on the contrary the workers of the Soviet Union constantly gain better conditions, their wages increase every year, while strikes and conflicts are almost absent because the working class owns its own factories and shops.

While the United States, and all capitalist countries, prepares the materials for a new gigantic world slaughter, a new world war which will destroy more millions of lives than the last war of 1914-1918, on the contrary the Soviet Union stands as a bulwark of peace in a war-mad world.

All these things which cause the imperialists to foam with rage against the Soviet Union, because it undermines the very foundations of capitalism in the whole world, which causes them to prepare to launch a war against the Soviet Union to crush the Workers' Republic, at the same time calls upon the workers to rally to the defense of the Soviet Union, which is the stronghold, the fortress, of the workers of the whole world, the only land which is building socialism and a workers' society.

In the New York elections this issue also will be voted on. Every vote for democratic, republican, or socialist parties is a vote for the capitalist attack against the Soviet Union.

Every vote for the Communist Party is a pledge to fight to the death for the defense of the Soviet Union.

Socialist Party—The Petit Bourgeois Party

The Socialist Party pretending to be in opposition to the capitalist parties, is indeed their best ally. The Socialist Party of New York City, the party of small business interests, of a section of the labor aristocracy, professionals, etc., is a third party of the capitalist class. It stands for the protection of capitalist law and order and in its proposals for the reorganization of the police system of New York affords to the reactionary city government the best weapon for increasing the terror and the "efficiency" of the police against striking and fighting labor.

The Socialist Party has abandoned any pretense of the class struggle. It has been the champion and the defender of the union breaking policies of the bureaucrats. In its ranks are the Socialist trade union officials who have employed gangsters, collaborated with the Tammany Hall police and bosses to assault workers, to throw them out of the factories and sentence them to long imprisonments. The Socialist Party is an enemy of the Soviet Union and a friend of the League of

Nations—that is of the robber imperialist powers. Its poisonous pacifist propaganda serves only to disarm the workers against the growing war danger. The Socialist Party is part of the Second International of which the German social democracy has shot down demonstrating workers on May Day, has built cruisers for German imperialism and whose British section in power, the MacDonald Government, keeps India in suppression and serves the English ruling class to put through greater exploitation and oppression. The endorsement of Norman Thomas by the bourgeois Citizens Union shows clearly the capitalist character of this so-called Socialist Party.

The Communist Party is the only working class Party—the Party of your class. It enters in the present election campaign to turn this campaign into a mobilization for a relentless struggle against the old parties of the bosses, and against the corrupt labor bureaucracy and treacherous Socialist Party, against capitalist rationalization and the capitalist state. In the 1929 election campaign, the Communist Party of the city and state fights for the following election program representing the interests of the working class:

The Fighting Points of the Communist Platform

I. Rationalization.

In the struggle against rationalization, the speed-up and unemployment, the Communist Party demands and fights for:

1. The 7-hour day with further reduction of hours in specially hazardous occupations.
2. Five weeks vacation with pay every year for all workers.
3. Organization of Councils of Unemployed to fight for all measures of relief and together with the employed workers for better conditions.
4. Unemployment insurance to provide full wages for all unemployed workers for the entire period of unemployment.
5. The establishment of health insurance to provide full wages for all workers too ill to continue at their jobs for the entire period of incapacity.
6. Full compensation for all workers injured in the course of their employment for the entire period of disability.
7. Prohibition of the use of pneumatic drills in rock drilling and stone cutting industries and the prohibition of air-spray guns in the house painting industry and in all other industries until devices have been perfected and installed which will render it impossible for workers to be exposed to the deadly effects of these instruments.
8. Election of inspectors by the workers on every job from among their fellow employees to protect the workers against speed-up and enforce safety regulations.
9. Enforcement of an old age pension bill to provide a minimum of \$25 per week to dependent men and women 55 years of age and over, fund to be administered by a commission of workers representing trade unions, shop committees and workers benefit societies.
10. Prohibition by law of night work, over time and job work for all working women and children.
11. Maternity allowance of full working wages for a month before and a month following child birth.
12. Prohibition of employment of women in all processes and occupations that endanger their health.
13. Equal pay for equal work for all women and youth workers.
14. Prohibition of work for all children under 15.
15. Six-hour day and 5-day week for all workers between the ages of 16 and 18 to include 2 hours of schooling a day.

II. Struggle Against Imperialist War and for the Defense of the Soviet Union.

The Communist Party calls upon the workers to take up

vigorously the fight against imperialist war and for the defense of the Soviet Union. The Communist Party demands and fights for:

1. Not a man, not a gun, not a cent for the imperialist army and navy.
2. Immediate withdrawal of all American troops from Latin America, the Philippines and China.
3. Complete and immediate independence for all American colonies and semi-colonies.
4. Abolition of the regime of United States custom control or supervision of finance in Latin America.
5. Active support of the resistance of the Latin American peoples against United States imperialism.
6. Right of soldiers to vote to join political organizations and right to organize and form soldiers' committees.
7. Fight against the whole system of the infamous Versailles treaty. Down with the Young Reparations Plan.
8. Defend the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics—Fatherland of the working class of the world. Organize anti-war committees in the factories.
9. Recognition of the Union of Socialist-Soviet Republics.

Against Police Terror, Government by Injunction, For Civil Rights

1. Destroy the anti-labor injunctions by mass violations.
2. Unrestricted right of free speech, free press and free assemblage for the working class.
3. Unrestricted right to organize, to strike and to picket.
4. Organize workers' defense corps to resist capitalist terror.
5. Against the use of private police, gunmen in labor struggles. Against the secret anti-labor organizations.
6. Release of all workers imprisoned because of strike and labor struggles.
7. Immediate release of all political prisoners.
8. Right of all civil employees to organize into a union.
9. Abolition of all discrimination, of system of fines as a means of discipline of civil employees, of the establishment of the weekly payment of wages, and of establishment of suitable safeguards against summary discharge.
10. Against persecution and discrimination of the foreign-born workers.
11. The right to vote for all workers irrespective of age and place of birth.

Fight Against the Oppression of the Negroes and for Full Social, Racial and Political Equality

The Communist Party alone fights relentlessly against all forms of race discrimination and is the only Party that can lead the Negroes to emancipation from racial, social and political oppression. In those southern states in which Negroes are the bulk of the population the Party fights for the right of self determination of the Negroes, until the right of formation of a separate state.

The Communist Party likewise fights for the organization of the unorganized into trade unions.

The Communist Party demands:

1. Full social, racial and political equality—against all forms of Jim Crowism, segregation, etc.
2. Struggle against all restrictions which force Negroes to live in segregated districts.
3. Against discrimination against Negroes in rent by charging them higher rates than are charged white tenants, or in

refusing to make adequate repairs or maintain houses in satisfactory condition.

4. Expenditure of public funds for paving streets, for parks playgrounds, water supply, sewerage, lighting and other city improvements in proportion to the population of a particular district regardless of race or color.

5. Compulsory opening of all occupations to Negroes.

6. The right of every Negro to a free, adequate education fitting him for any occupation or calling he desires.

7. Compulsory opening of all institutions of training, including colleges to Negroes.

8. Immediate abolition of "Jim Crow" schools.

9. Uniform expenditures for all schools in proportion to population regardless of race or color.

10. Compulsory treatment of all persons needing medical, hospital, or nursing care, by hospitals, doctors and nurses, regardless of race or color.

11. Admission of Negroes to all restaurants, theatres, hotels, parks, playgrounds and other places of recreation.

12. Immediate removal of all restrictions in all trade unions against membership of Negro workers.

13. Abolition of all laws forbidding inter-marriage of persons of different races.

Housing, Traction and Schools

Housing:

1. Organization of Tenants' Leagues.

2. Struggle against evictions.

3. Struggle against increases of rent.

4. Limitation of rental rates, and free rent for unemployed.

Traction:

1. Provision of safe and adequate transit, with a five-cent fare and transfer to all junctions.

2. Seven-hour day, five-day week as a maximum for transit employees, six-hour day for those in especially hazardous occupations and in underground work.

3. Crew of one man to each car.

4. Dissolution of the company unions, abrogation of the "yellow dog" contract and establishment of the right of all traction workers to organize and join labor unions.

Schools:

1. Immediate construction of sufficient schools to accommodate comfortably all working class children in their immediate neighborhoods, without part time, free transportation for all school children.

2. Immediate increase of the teaching staff and a maximum of twenty pupils to every teacher.

3. Minimum wage of \$2,000 a year for all teachers, with equal salary advance for all grades.

4. Free and adequate medical, dental, optical and other health services for all pupils. Provision by the government for free food, clothing, transportation and school supplies.

5. Abolition of religious and military training.

6. Right of teachers to organize in labor unions. No discrimination against teachers.

7. The right of children to organize into working class organizations.

Demonstrations.—The Communist Party held numerous protest meetings, picketings and demonstrations, which were the occasion for arrests and jail sentences as well as clashes with the police. Ben Lifshitz, a former official in New York

—expelled with Lovestone and his group—was sentenced to 30 days in jail for a sign on the building which houses the *Daily Worker* and the city office, during a policemen's parade, reading: Down with Walker's Police Brutality. Harry J. Canter, a Boston party official, was given one year for carrying a sign: Fuller—Murderer of Sacco and Vanzetti. Negroes and whites were arrested in the Harlem district of New York City. Numerous arrests occurred in connection with Gastonia protest meetings, the demonstrations on anti-war day, August 1, the anniversary of the electrocution of Sacco and Vanzetti, and the picketings of the Chinese, Hungarian and Italian consulates. Literature was distributed to soldiers, sailors and members of the Citizens Military Training Camps. The 12th anniversary of the Russian Revolution and the date of the death of Lenin were celebrated by huge meetings. The party membership and its sympathizers participated in a tremendous outpouring to welcome the Russian fliers.

Daily Worker.—The party's only English daily was forced to suspend on Friday, June 21, 1929, but resumed the next day. During the preceding six months it had issued from time to time urgent appeals for money. On February 4, 1929, it appeared with only four pages, although for frequent intervals thereafter it contained six. At the end of the year the party was conducting an energetic drive for new members, subscribers to the paper, the organization of new shop nuclei, and the issuance of new shop papers.

General.—The *Daily Worker* of December 14, 1929, carried the following schedule of dues payments for party members:

Wages	up to \$15 a week—10 cents weekly
"	\$16-25—25 cents weekly
"	26-30—50 cents weekly
"	31-40—75 cents weekly
"	41-50—one dollar weekly
"	above \$50 a week—extra dues in addition to one dollar.

The issue of December 9, 1929, contained an extensive program for work among the unemployed who were rapidly increasing toward the end of the year. The party cooperated actively in the organization work and strikes conducted by the unions which are now a part of the Trade Union Unity League or have left-wing contingents. It supported the position of the Communist International on the occurrences in Palestine where numbers of Jews were killed: Support of the Arabian masses in their struggle against British imperialism and its Zionist allies.

On April 9, 1929, Santeri Nuorteva died in Leningrad. He was very active in the United States during the first years of the Russian Revolution in promoting trade and cultural relations. He was deported together with Ludwig C. K. Martens, and became the president of Soviet Karelia.

Young Communist League.—According to official statements the membership of the youth organization, based on dues payments, was about 500 in 1926, 700 in 1927, and 1,860 for the first ten months of 1928. The Young Communist League was also affected by the two splits which occurred in the Workers' (Communist) Party, the first caused by the Trotsky-Cannon Opposition, and later, the second by Lovestone-Gitlow-Wolfe and their followers. A number of prominent leaders of the League were expelled, as well as rank and file members. The Young Communist League participated in the work of the party in all its phases. Many of its members were arrested, including Harry Eisman of the Pioneers, who was sentenced to a house of correction for six months for demonstrating against the Boy Scouts on July 20. An increased number took part in strikes, in the work of the unions, and activity in the smaller towns. The League claimed that a larger proportion of its membership were industrial workers.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U. S. A. (MAJORITY GROUP)

American Background.—As interpreted by Benjamin Gitlow, secretary, for the national council of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. (Majority Group), this body "has its historical base in the old Charles E. Ruthenberg group."

In the latter months of 1923 there began to take place a crystallization within the Workers' (Communist) Party primarily on the question of attitude towards the labor party movement, but also on a whole series of questions, trade union work, economic struggle, party organization, etc. On the one hand was the Ruthenberg group, on the other, the Foster-Cannon group in alliance with the elements then associated with Ludwig Lore. Through unprincipled manipulations, this latter bloc managed to get a majority at the third convention of the party (December, 1923). The following two years saw an intensification of the political differences as well as of the group crystallizations. Finally, at the fourth convention (August, 1925) the then so-called minority (Ruthenberg group) with the assistance of the then leadership of the Communist International won control of the party.

The subsequent period (1926-1927-1928) was the period of the greatest political and organizational development for the American Communist movement, as was repeatedly recognized by the various official bodies of the Communist International (VI Plenum, March, 1926; VII Plenum, December, 1926; and

VIII Plenum, July, 1927). At the same time, however, the Foster-Cannon group maintained its factional struggle and factional organization, in spite of repeated pledges and decisions to the contrary. During this period the old Ruthenberg group merged itself into a new collective leadership which by the sixth convention of the party (March, 1929) had succeeded in winning not only the support of over 90 percent of the party membership, but also the confidence of large sections of the militant workers of this country. It was precisely at this point that the American Communist Party became directly involved in the general crisis of the world Communist movement.

Communist International and the Majority Group.—The sixth congress of the Communist International (July-August, 1928) and the Ecce (executive committee of the Communist International) thereafter precipitated the division in America, as well as in a number of other countries. According to the account of the Majority Group:

Since the beginning of 1928 there has been taking place in the leading organs of the Communist International a gradual but systematic revision of some of the most important tactical principles of the Communist movement as laid down by Lenin (united front, trade union tactics, tactics in the struggle against reformism) based upon a false estimation of the objective situation and the course of the revolution. This false line was developed surreptitiously and under cover of unanimous resolutions and declarations of "no differences." It was already visible at the XV congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (December, 1927), and at the IX Plenum of the executive committee of the Communist International (February, 1928). At the sixth world congress of the Communist International (July-August, 1928), there took place, under the cover of surface unanimity and the unanimous passage of a generally correct resolution on the international situation, the organization of a firm international caucus based upon the false ultra-left line. This international caucus (generally referred to as the "corridor congress," because it carried on its gossip and propaganda in the lobbies of the congress and during its sessions) was quite openly—but of course "unofficially" headed by Stalin.

The members of the Stalin caucus, or corridor congress (Lominadze, Union of Socialist Soviet Republics; Thaelmann and Neumann, Germany, Bittelman, United States, Gottwald, Czechoslovakia, etc.) introduced their theses and proposals on every important problem before the congress in the various delegations and commissions. After being defeated, they did not dare to make an open fight in the congress, but formally voted for the decisions of the congress. When the congress was over, the corridor congress members, far from submitting to the decisions of the congress, proclaimed the correctness of their rejected views and began a struggle against the line of the congress and its defenders.

After the congress the Stalin group came out into the open and the false "new course" gained official recognition. The old leadership of the executive committee of the Communist International (Bukharin, etc.) was removed. The "new course" was then forced upon the various sections of the Communist International by methods that violated every idea of party democracy. The inevitable results were: false and sectarian policies making for the isolation of the Communist parties and the disruption of these parties through the expulsion of tens of thousands of the best revolutionary elements because they would not submit themselves to the false "new course."

Resistance to Ultra-Left Course.—The former leadership of the Communist Party opposed what it considered an ultra-left course. Then followed the special address of the Executive Committee of the American party and the subsequent expulsions and splits. A new leadership was set up consisting of the old Foster group, supported by some elements of the previous administration, while the expelled members founded the Communist Party of the U. S. A. (Majority Group). The latter claim that 500 members were expelled, while "several thousand members have been driven out by the false line and by the non-Communist methods pursued." It declares that it "has already organized within itself over 1,000 Communists, many of them not expelled from the regular party, with many more supporters." On November 1, 1929, appeared the first issue of its official bi-weekly organ, *Revolutionary Age*, while in December a Jewish and a youth monthly saw the light. Benjamin Gitlow is editor of *Revolutionary Age*, Bertram Wolfe, associate editor, and the editorial board consists of the following:

J. O. Bentall, C. W. Bixby, Ellen Dawson, Ben Gitlow, Walter Herberg, Jay Lovestone, Bert Miller, William Miller, H. Pirenne, Jack Rubinstein, Frank Vratetich, Edward Welsh, W. J. White, Bertram D. Wolfe, Herberg Zam and Charles S. Zimmerman.

Objective.—The Communist Party of the U. S. A. (Majority Group) declares that it "is in no sense whatever a 'new' or 'second' Communist Party."

There cannot be two Communist parties in the same country at the same time. Our differences with the official Communist Party do not today touch any of the fundamentals of Communism (the theory of the state, the armed uprising, the proletarian dictatorship, the soviet power, etc.). They center exclusively around questions of strategy and tactics. The aim and purpose is to win the party, to mobilize the party membership and revolutionary workers to overthrow the present leadership, and to restore the party to the Leninist path of health and growth.

Specifically, the group demands the rejection of what it considers the revision of the line of Leninism in the following particulars:

1. The anti-Leninist conception of "mechanical uniformity" and the rejection of the basic Leninist principle of the uneven development of capitalism and of the flexible and concrete application of general principles to the objective situation ("exceptionalism").
2. A false conception of the nature of imperialism and the relation of inner and outer contradictions.
3. An ultra-left conception of the questions of stabilization, radicalization and the third period.
4. An altogether false estimation of the present stage of development and the course of American imperialism.

5. A sectarian rejection of the Leninist tactic of the united front; a false ultra-left line for work in the trade unions and the mass-organizations.

6. The perversion of the struggle against right errors into a factional instrument for the changing of leaderships and the destruction of parties.

8. The cessation of the struggle against the danger of Trotskyism, and the turning of party policies in the direction of Trotskyism.

COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA (OPPOSITION)

Party Democracy Demanded.—In the *Militant* of August 1, 1929, James P. Cannon, the outstanding leader of the Communist League of America (Opposition)—founded in November, 1928, by expelled members from the Workers' (Communist) Party for adhering to the platform of the Opposition in the Russian Communist Party led by Leon Trotsky*—discusses "The Crisis in the Communist Party." He describes an "enlightenment campaign":

It is necessary first of all to tear aside the curtain of falsehood, deception and trickery behind which the pitiful subsidized agents of American Stalinism try to conceal the real state of affairs from the party. The spurious "enlightenment campaign" is such a curtain. It talks of discussion of the issues—and prohibits it by organization measures and threats. It crusades against factionalism—under the direction of the most unprincipled and corrupted faction mongers. It cries about the unity of the party—and plunges the party headlong into a new split, the second in less than a year. The "enlightenment campaign" is a bare-faced fraud, an insult to the party and a target for the ridicule of its enemies.

He adds the following concerning the new leadership,

The present make-shift leadership, a conglomeration of yes-men and parasitical place-hunters, who confess their sins for self-advancement, patched together from the tag ends of the old factions and appointed by cablegram from above, cannot overcome the crisis and unite the party. The stop-gap leadership of today only makes matters worse. It has all the faults of the Lovestone regime without any of its strength or independence. It confuses the party by giving the outward appearance of a change from petty bourgeois politics and factional corruption which does not exist in reality.

Finally, he makes the following six demands:

1. In place of the fraudulent "enlightenment campaign," a real discussion of the three political tendencies which are now taking definite shape in the American party.

2. Genuine party democracy in place of the regime of administrative terror and suppression.

3. A genuine proletarianization of the leadership in which bona-fide workers, leaders in class struggle activities who have independent opinions and the ability to defend them, play an active part in all the leading bodies. This must re-

* See *American Labor Year Book*, 1929, p. 277.

place the present system of electing harmless proletarian elements for show purposes only.

4. A reorganization and reduction of the party apparatus which, including the functionaries and employees of auxiliaries, now exceeds ten percent of the party membership. These paid officials, remote from the actualities of the class struggle, are a crust over the party, stifling its normal life and monopolizing party discussion and direction.

5. Subsidies of all kinds must be absolutely abolished and the party adjusted to operate by its own means derived from membership dues and contributions . . . in the present situation subsidy has become an instrument for corruption, for bureaucratization and crushing out independent life.

6. The party must have a real convention, preceded by an honest discussion and the honest selection of delegates, to work out its problems and select its own leaders.

Program.—The February 15 and March 1, 1929, issues of the official organ, the *Militant*—which became a weekly toward the close of 1929—contain the platform of the Communist League of America (Opposition). It is a long document, the first four sections of which are devoted to the Russian Revolution, the crisis in the Communist International, the use of the smoke-screen of "Trotskyism," and the war danger and defense of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. Another 16 sections are given over to a consideration of American imperialism, the present economic situation and the struggles in detail of a Bolshevik party in the United States.

The attitude of the Communist League toward the progressives, organized inside of or outside of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, differs sharply from that of the Communist Party—which is one of hostility. The League in the words of Arne Swabeck, one of its spokesmen, adopts toward them

the united front tactic with an independent policy and merciless exposure of the reformists, fakers and betrayers; a constant pressure to make the present grandiously proclaimed program a program of realities, carried into life in the movement; constant pressure for more definite left wing and revolutionary policies. In this process the reformist leader will be discarded and the left wing will prove its worth as the only force able to bring these policies to their correct conclusion.

Activities.—In May, 1929, the Communist League held its first national conference. At the close of the year it claimed 20 branches. Certain of its leading members were active in the southern coal fields of Illinois, in Minneapolis, and Chicago. Its meetings everywhere were the occasion for violent physical encounters with followers of the regular party, who sought to break them up.

James P. Cannon is editor of the *Militant*, while Marti Abern, Max Schachtman and Maurice Spector are associate editors.

V. LABOR LEGISLATION

SUMMARY

The outstanding legislative events of the labor year 1929, during which 44 legislatures held regular sessions, were:

- One law against yellow-dog contracts;
- One limiting injunctions;
- One limiting coal and iron police;
- One limiting the blacklist;
- Scattered improvement of hours and wages on public work;
- Three laws raising educational minima for child workers;
- Two permissive rock-dusting laws;
- A federal investigation of unemployment;
- An unemployment census for 1930;
- Eleven laws regulating private employment agencies more strictly;
- One establishing a public agency;
- Four old age pension laws;
- Four vocational retraining laws;
- One new compensation law;
- One new department of labor;
- Two laws authorizing departmental safety regulations; and
- Nineteen increases of money for labor departments.

UNIONS AND LABOR DISPUTES

Summary.—Minnesota altered its injunction law somewhat, and Wisconsin ruled against anti-union contracts. The American Federation of Labor drafted a comprehensive federal anti-injunction bill.

Label and Cooperatives.—Nebraska passed a union label law (C. 136). Pennsylvania repealed the law encouraging agricultural and industrial cooperatives (No. 211). New York limited membership in labor credit unions to persons with a common employer (C. 325).

Injunctions.—Out of many state bills introduced, one anti-injunction law was passed, by Minnesota (C. 260). It said that no injunction shall be issued until the defendants have had notice and a hearing in court. But a temporary restraining order may be issued without notice if violence has been used or is imminently probable.

Yellow Dog.—Wisconsin enacted that anti-union contracts are of no effect (C. 123). These "yellow dog contracts" have been the basis for many injunctions since the federal

Supreme Court decided *Hitchman Coal and Coke Company v. Mitchell* in 1917. In Ohio, Illinois, and California labor was nearly successful in securing laws against "yellow dog contracts;" in Wisconsin the bill was helped because middlemen had been inducing farmers to agree not to join cooperatives, and this was included in the ban.

Federal.—Congress (session ended March 4, 1929) had before it five senate anti-injunction bills:

Norris' aimed to cut down federal injunctions by leaving cases between citizens of different states to the state courts. Caraway's forbade district judges to express to juries an opinion about the credibility of a witness. Blaine's provided jury trial in contempt cases. Walsh's directed district courts to follow the policy of the highest court of the state where they were located. The best known was Shipstead's. It forbade injunctions except to protect property which was tangible and transferable. That is, injunctions were to be issued only if the union threatened physical violence to things, not if its actions simply threatened unduly the carrying on of the business.

Of this simple rule, Edwin Witte, a student of the problem, said: "The Shipstead bill probably cannot be passed, and if passed would by reason of its generality be meaningless. A specific detailed bill would at least compel the courts either to observe its provisions or to hold them unconstitutional."

Morris Ernst in November, 1929, advocated the still simpler method that all injunctions of any sort be abolished by legislation.

As a substitute for the Shipstead bill (first introduced December 12, 1927) a special senate subcommittee in 1928 framed a "specific, detailed bill." The American Federation of Labor decided it preferred this plan, and after getting advice from many lawyers, drew up a new bill, which was approved by the Toronto (1929) convention.

The bill now sponsored by the American Federation of Labor declares:

It is the (federal) public policy to have unions free in their activities. Anti-union contracts are not to be the basis for injunctions. No injunction is to be issued against doing separately or against "conspiring" to do the following: quit, refuse to work on non-union materials, refuse to patronize, pay strike benefits, give help in a lawsuit, give publicity to the facts of a strike by advertising, speeches, or patrolling; assemble to organize or to act; advise others to do these things, or notify adversaries of one's intention to do them. The union is not responsible for acts of its officers or members unless it clearly authorizes them, participates in them, or ratifies them.

A labor injunction is to be issued only after there has been a hearing and cross examination, and then only if the policing is inadequate to prevent undue pressure by the union. But in emergencies a temporary restraining order may be issued without a hearing. It is to run five days only and there must be adequate sworn evidence of its need. The company or association must put up a bond from which the union can collect damages if the courts later decide the company's case was inadequate. The court is not to help the company if it hasn't made every reasonable effort to settle the dispute. The court order shall forbid only acts which are included in the court's finding of facts. The circuit courts of appeals are to put injunction appeals ahead of others.

There is to be a jury in contempt trials. (At present the Clayton act, upheld by the Supreme Court in 1924, in *Michaelson v. United States*, gives a jury trial only if the wrong done is also a crime.) Labor cases in which these rules are to hold are to include the many cases where recognition is the issue and cases where the disputants don't "stand in the proximate relation of employer and employee." (This last is to cover boycott cases and overrule *Duplex Printing Press Company v. Deering*, Supreme Court, 1921.) The rules apply to all federal courts except the Supreme Court.

Company Police.—Pennsylvania provided that the governor was to have investigations made of candidates for industrial police forces and of the need for appointing them. They must be bonded (No. 243).

Blacklist.—Texas enacted that illegal discrimination by corporations against persons seeking employment, included blacklisting an ex-employee, refusal to furnish him copies of reports made to his prospective employer, refusal to furnish him a statement of the conditions under which he left, and discrimination against an applicant because he has been a striker (C. 245).

Arbitration.—Voluntary arbitration of labor disputes under special state laws was amended in four cases. Idaho repealed its unused law for a labor commission to arbitrate and mediate (C.5). Illinois appropriated no money for arbitrators (H. B. 577). Connecticut's labor arbitration law was reenacted with greater detail. A party that has agreed to an arbitration must go ahead with it. Arbitrators have the power of subpoena. Courts may modify awards (C. 65). Oregon provided a remedy in case of one party's default in signing a written agreement (C. 350).

WAGES

Public Work.—Hawaii raised its minimum wage for laborers on public works to \$3 a day (Act 86). Nevada raised it to \$4, for 8 hours, for men above 18 (C. 44). It also allowed teachers pay during illness (C. 65). Kansas raised city police pay (C. 118) and so did New York City by referendum. New York State, at the instance of the Carpenters' union, investigated the application of the prevailing-wage law to subway construction. Massachusetts appointed a commission on the pay of county officials and clerical workers (C. 33).

Minimum Wage.—Utah repealed its minimum wage law for women (C. 9), because of the 1923 ruling of the federal Supreme Court on minimum wage laws. Massachusetts and

California still use their laws (See United States Women's Bureau, Bulletin 61, 1929).

Collection of Wages.—California now requires employers who collect tips for workers to keep careful records and to post the terms of the system conspicuously (C. 891). Sheriff must assist the labor department, without cost to it, in collecting wages due workers (C. 231). The California code makes an employer who refuses to pay wages when they are due liable to a penalty for each day up to 30, at the rate at which the worker was paid. The wage code has been improved at the suggestion of the department each session since 1921. In 1929 seven amendments were passed. In 1927-8, the department collected \$1,000,000 for workers, without cost to them. Forty-five acts were passed in 1929 by 25 states, dealing with weekly payment of wages, garnishment and assignment of wages, mechanics' liens, and wage preference.

MEN'S HOURS

Public Work.—The California law requiring an 8-hour day on public works is applied to political subdivisions (C. 793). Oregon excepted men paid by the month from its hours rule, and excepted from the double time for overtime rule long-shoremen employed by port commissions (C. 358). The Wisconsin industrial commission was to investigate violations of the hours rule. A fine was fixed for each day of violation of the rule (C. 367). It was to investigate the possibility of an 8-hour prison day (C.447).

Hazards.—Montana raised its maximum penalty for violations of the hour law for miners, smelters, and public works (C. 116). A New Jersey 8-hour bakery law was defeated.

Vacations.—Florida enacted six-day vacations for public employees in certain counties (C. 13631), and Hawaii reduced vacation days from 14 to 12 (Act 95). Connecticut allowed for sickness of 30 days, with pay, for state employees (C. 106). In Massachusetts policemen and firemen in certain towns may be given two weeks off each year.

One Day's Rest.—New York enacted one day of rest in seven for all police, except in emergencies (C. 701), and New Jersey extended the rule to smaller towns (C. 123). Sunday laws were amended by Maine (C. 303), Massachusetts (C. 118), and West Virginia (C. 44).

CHILD LABOR

Summary.—There were a good many minor changes in child labor codes. Missouri did most. Illinois and Maryland raised their educational minima.

Federal.—Ratification of the federal child labor amendment of 1924 came up in 9 states. There were no ratifications. It passed the Nebraska Senate. President Hoover called a conference on child welfare for 1930.

Standards Raised.—Bills affecting child labor in some way were up in 37 state legislatures in 1929. Over 30 bills limiting child labor were passed, and about 75 defeated or neglected. Many of those allowed to pass were unimportant or else were compromise measures. Missouri completely revised its law (C. B. 469). For the first time it includes an educational requirement—6th grade. Children under 16 may not work more than six days a week or 8 hours a day and must have permits. But proof that the wages are needed and that the job isn't dangerous is no longer required. Illinois (S. B. 244) raised the educational requirement from 6th to 8th grade, and adopted California's plan of limiting hours for children working outside of school to 8 a day, for school and work combined. The school term was raised from seven to 8 months, and the truancy law was improved. Maryland had had a 5th grade requirement. It is now 6th in Baltimore, and 7th or 8th elsewhere. A bill for a general 8th grade requirement was not acted on.

North Carolina has a 48-hour law, but excepts children over 14 who have completed the 4th grade. A bill to remove the exception was defeated. A complete revision of the Connecticut educational code passed the House without opposition and was blocked in the Senate as "hasty," though it had been six years in preparation.

Injury.—North Carolina enacted its first workmen's compensation law. Minors are included, whether legally or illegally employed. Idaho, Minnesota, and New Mexico improved the status of minors somewhat. Bills for double or treble compensation for minors injured while illegally employed were defeated in Colorado, Minnesota, New Mexico, Ohio, Texas, and passed the Senate in Pennsylvania. Indiana had never enforced this provision of its law. It dropped it in 1929, and minors illegally employed are now excluded from compensation by implication. Its act to authorize the industrial board to extend the list of dangerous occupations prohibited to children was vetoed. Michigan applied its double compensation rule to all illegally employed minors under 18, instead of between 16 and 18.

Continuation Schools.—Three of the 27 compulsory continuation school laws were changed. In Utah children were excepted if education is provided for in connection with their employment (an impairment of the law) (C. 47). Iowa excepted high school graduates. California provided that classes may be held at the shop; attendance must be for three hours a day, if unemployed; and seasonal workers may substitute full-time attendance at a convenient season (C. 187). A Massachusetts bill would have kept children under 16 in school at least half the year. For this was substituted an investigation commission.

Standards Lowered.—About 10 bills to lower standards were defeated, and out of a half dozen passed, the ones most directly concerning children were Indiana's excepting caddies from all rules, and Oklahoma's decision that non-resident children under 15 may play in theatres if parent or teacher is on the stage with them.

YOUNG WORKERS

Restrictions.—The legislation governing children is stricter than other labor law, and much of it has gradually been extended to include children up to 16, and now some of the rules are applied to young workers under 18 or even under 21. Idaho's compensation law was amended to read that awards to workers under 18 were to be based on adult wages. Michigan, on the other hand, allowed girls of 16-18 to work in certain injurious occupations formerly prohibited (No. 102) and extended the 9-hour day law (for males under 18 and females) to include hospitals, but excepted nurses (No. 299). Oregon repealed an old law requiring school attendance up to 18 (C. 68).

WOMEN'S WORK

Hours.—California extended its 48-hour law to cover women employed in any industry or barber shop (C. 286), and raised the first-offense penalty to \$100 (C. 40). Michigan included hospitals (except nurses) under its 9-hour law (No. 299). Rhode Island excepted women working by shifts during different parts of the day for public utilities (C. 1316). Wyoming enacted that press of business is no longer an excuse for violating the law (C. 62). Maine has a law that women in certain occupations may not work more than six hours without an interval of an hour. It has now excepted phone operators who can sleep most of the night (C. 179).

FACTORY SAFETY AND HEALTH

Safety Codes.—Twelve states altered their factory safety codes by statute. California improved the laws covering boiler inspection (C. 180, 181) and the weights that women might carry or move (C. 768). Colorado put schools and movies under factory inspection (C. 95). Connecticut raised the inspection fee for larger bakeries (C. 298). The Maryland compensation commission is to make safety rules and inspect (C. 426). Michigan modified the law on fans and blowers (No. 301) and gave factory inspectors power to order ventilation installed (No. 102). Minnesota regulates fire hazards in dry cleaning plants. Now motors, if explosive-proof, may be placed anywhere, and fire extinguishers suffice as preventives in small cities (C. 402). Nebraska's commission may now make safety rules (C. 138). New York has provided that workrooms must be separated from offices by incombustible partitions, even though there are automatic sprinklers (C. 296). Imprisonment is now a possible penalty in Pennsylvania for violating the bakery health law (No. 240), the boiler law is improved, also elevator inspection (and specifications may be laid down by the department of labor) and building safety (and inspectors have power of entry) (No. 451-3). Porto Rico exempted small dressmaking shops from first-aid requirements (No. 37). West Virginia enacted a first air law and authorized the labor commissioner to adopt the building safety codes of the American Mechanical Engineers and the federal department of labor (C. 83). Washington: modern spark arrester required only if inflammable material is near (C. 172). Among the devices not to be inside rooms used for cleaning and dyeing, Wisconsin now includes any electric apparatus not free from hazard (C. 67) and companies furnishing current must see that electrical wiring contractor has obeyed the code (C. 470, 274).

MINES

Improvements.—Five states strengthened their mining safety codes, including two that permitted rock-dusting to be substituted for sprinkling. Illinois appointed a mining investigation commission to study safety, conservation, etc. (H. B. 379). Colorado altered its mining code in respect to lamps, inspection, first aid training for miners, and checkweighmen (C. 68). Oklahoma established a separate code for metal mines (C. 42) and modified the coal code, occasionally lowering the fines. Changes affected inspection, certificates of competency for foremen and cage-handlers, sending men

out if fans stop, bath houses for small mines, etc. A day's work is 8 hours except in emergency. Rock-dusting may be substituted for sprinkling (C. 251, special session). Pennsylvania also permits rock-dusting now, and the department of mines may require it (No. 254). It also modified the rules on barrier pillars between mines (No. 190) and required telephones and an inspection before work if a mine has been idle 48 hours, and allows foremen to search men for matches, etc. (No. 264). In dusty mines, as well as gaseous ones, incombustible material must be used for tamping (No. 390). In West Virginia gaseous mines the chief of the department of mines may designate where flame-proof electric coal-cutting machines shall be used (C. 16, 17). Wyoming improved the rules about shot-firers. After a misfired shot, entry into the mine is forbidden for 16 hours (C. 34). The law on shutting off cross-cuts was changed (C. 28). Tennessee no longer requires fees for inspecting coal mines (C. 28).

OTHER SAFETY

Railroads.—Safety was affected by Ohio's authorizing its public utilities commission to enforce the statutes (S. B. 207), and by Vermont's giving its commission authority over terminal washrooms and requiring the trainmen's unions to be notified of hearings (No. 82). New Jersey legislated further on compressed air work. Eight hours is the maximum under 18 pounds pressure, and rules governing hours at higher pressures were improved (C. 90).

EMPLOYMENT

Private Agencies.—In 1929 eleven states regulated private fee-charging employment agencies more strictly. This is in part a reaction to the policy of the federal Supreme Court on fees. In 1917 it held unconstitutional a 1914 referendum law of Washington which forbade agencies to make workers pay fees. In 1928 it held unconstitutional a New Jersey law limiting the size of fees. This decision emasculated a number of state statutes.

In 1929 Minnesota enacted that an applicant for a license had to show not only that he had a good character but also that his premises were suitable and that an additional agency was needed by the community. Wisconsin had enforced all three of these tests since 1913, and New Jersey had adopted them after the 1928 decision. In 1929, also, statutes substantially amending the existing laws were passed by Colo

rado, Iowa, Michigan, North Carolina, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Texas, and West Virginia. All eight amending statutes require the applicant to have a good character, four require suitable premises, two citizenship, and several require business integrity and responsibility, sometimes backed up by posting a bond. Out of this were to be made refunds of fees when no job was secured, and in one case refund of train fare, too. Three of the acts forbid directing workers to employment unless there is a bona fide order from the company. One act provides for posting schedules of fees charged, one requires statistical reports, four provide for inspection. Two penalize sending women to houses of ill-fame, two false statements, and one fee-splitting. North Carolina, Texas and West Virginia enacted clauses with heavy licenses for emigrant employment agencies. California in 1929 included farm labor agencies under the law, and said that agencies must notify workers clearly that fees will be returned if there was no job. New York exempted nurses' associations. The state Industrial Survey Commission also reported to the legislature, recommending: (1) concentrating administration under the industrial commissioner; (2) higher license fees and surety bonds; (3) adequate investigation of agents, with public hearing; (4) an administrative code about proper premises; (5) posted fee schedules, strictly adhered to; and (6) power for the commissioner to revoke licenses for causes.

Public Employment Bureaus.—West Virginia in 1929 enacted that the commissioner of labor must maintain a public bureau. Delaware decided to participate in the bureau run by the federal service and the city of Wilmington. Indiana increased the appropriation of its employment commission and department of rehabilitation. New York directed the employment of a supervisor of vocational guidance to co-operate with any guidance bureaus that local school districts might create; the bureaus were to include an employment service for pupils.

Public Work.—Rules limiting public jobs to citizens of the state or the United States were enacted or amended by Arizona, Hawaii, Nevada, and Texas.

Immigration.—The "national origins" quotas went into effect on July 1, 1929. Congress had suspended their operation until then, but it failed to act on Hoover's plea to the special session that the old quotas be retained. Total immigration is now limited to 150,000.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

Record of Bills.—Four bills have been introduced at different times in each of the three states of Massachusetts, Wisconsin, and New York, and three in Minnesota. Substantially the same bill was reintroduced in the successive years, except for the first Massachusetts bill of 1916, which was introduced following several years of interest aroused by European experience. Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and North Carolina have had one bill each. The record by years is: 1916—1; 1921—3; 1922—1; 1923—2; 1925—2; 1926—1; 1927—5; 1928—1; 1929—2; total, 18. Also, in 1928 Victor L. Berger, former Socialist Congressman, introduced a federal bill. In Minnesota, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin the state federations of labor supported the bills. The Massachusetts Associated Industries and the Wisconsin Manufacturers' Association and Northern Hemlock and Hardwood Manufacturers' Association thought it worth while to oppose.

The 1929 bills were: one in Massachusetts, and one in South Carolina. The first (Socialist) provided that employers were to give out of work pay, \$2 a day to adults and \$1 to young workers. The second provided that textile companies were to give 30 days' notice of shutdowns and pay half wages during shutdowns, unless they were due to accident or an act of God.

The United States Senate committee report on unemployment, March 1, said:

Insurance plans against unemployment should be confined to the industry itself as much as possible. There is no necessity and no place for federal interference in such efforts at this time. If any public insurance scheme is considered, it should be left to the state legislatures to study that problem.

Isador Lubin, their special assistant, concluded that

a system of unemployment insurance should be organized. The exact status of the federal government in this connection is somewhat in doubt. It could, however, cooperate with the individual states in bringing such systems into being and through federal aid stimulate their establishment.

Plans.—Two sorts of bills have been introduced. (1) The 1916 Massachusetts bill, the 1928 federal bill, and the four New York bills were like the present British unemployment benefit system, which requires contributions from employers, employees, and the government. Plans for employment exchanges have always been closely associated with unemployment insurance, but the New York bills were the only ones to include, along with it, sickness insurance, non-compensable-accident insurance, maternity benefits, and pensions.

(2) The bill which is best known and which came closest to passing was the Huber bill, Wisconsin, 1921, drawn up by John R. Commons. This had the employers pay the premiums, and this plan was followed by all the bills, except those under (1). It is also followed by the 15 or so companies which inaugurated their own plans. Professor Commons testified on February 7, 1929, that the Huber bill followed the Wisconsin compensation act. The bill set up "reserve funds" within each company, so that it would pay the company not to lay off workers, or else to find jobs for the laid-off men.

A third method, the Ghent plan, in which the government subsidizes union funds, is not found in America. A fourth method is typified by the German national system, which was instituted in 1924, and revised in 1927. It calls for contributions from both employers and employees. This scheme has been used in America in the needle trades.

Insurance Codes.—Underwriting unemployment insurance is not authorized by most state insurance codes. In 1915 Michigan authorized railway employees to form mutual companies. Bills giving authority to regular insurance carriers have been defeated, including a 1927 New York bill, but in 1929 New York permitted labor unions to insure members who are temporarily out of work or irregularly employed because of their age.

OLD AGE PENSIONS

Summary.—In 1929 California, Utah and Wyoming joined Alaska and Montana by passing mandatory old age pension laws. Minnesota passed an optional law which is rather weaker than those already in existence in Colorado, Kentucky, Maryland, Montana, Nevada, and Wisconsin.

Bills.—About 50 bills were introduced in 28 states in 1929. About half of them specified age 65, about three-fourths were mandatory on the counties. Most of them provided \$30 a month. Four new laws were passed, one amendment, and one inquiry.

Inquiries.—The New Jersey commission reported favorably on pensions. The Rhode Island commissioner of finance had been instructed to investigate pensions, but refused. The Maine commission to find the facts reported that 77 percent of the aged would come under the proposed law. Maryland authorized a commission to study the poorhouses.

Laws.—California's new law (mandatory) is called the best so far by the *Monthly Labor Review* of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics. It is in effect in 1930. It applies at age 70. The counties and cities administer it, the state supervises. They share the cost. Utah (C. 76) and Wyoming (C. 87) (both mandatory) put the age at 65. Utah has a maximum allowance of \$25 a month. Minnesota's law (optional) required a county to vote on pensions before going ahead; a majority of the county board could withdraw the plan after a year's trial (C. 47).

"Mandatory" doesn't always mean the same thing. The Alaska law is applied by the territorial government. The Montana laws says the counties "shall" apply the plan. Most of them have. The new California law directs counties to adopt pensions and then to prefer them as a method of caring for the aged. The new Utah law was put into effect in 1929 by a majority of the counties, including two that contain half the population. In Wisconsin, the vote of the county board need no longer be two-thirds for adoption, and the board may discontinue pensions at any time (C. 181). After this amendment, in October, Milwaukee voted for pensions, the fifth county to do so. The average pension in the other four in 1928 was \$18.25 a month. The state pays a third. New Jersey now permits corporations to form trust funds for old age, disability, or unemployment insurance.

Public Work.—Laws for pensions for policemen, firemen, teachers, etc., were enacted or amended in 33 jurisdictions, including a new law covering teachers in Alaska, the repeal of the Idaho teachers' law, and a compulsory state employees' retirement association in Minnesota. Congress voted that the maximum annuity of retired government workers should be \$1200, instead of \$1000, but President Coolidge pocket-vetoed the law.

MOTHERS' PENSIONS

Changes.—The mothers' pensions laws were improved in Delaware, Illinois, Iowa, Maine, Minnesota, New Hampshire, Nevada, Oregon, and Wisconsin. Florida and Michigan raised the residence requirement, while Pennsylvania decreased its appropriation. Nevada repealed the law under which it had cooperated with the former federal maternity administration. Arkansas urged Congress to pass the Newton bill to better protect rural and maternity health. Wisconsin accepted any maternity act offered by the United States.

GROUP INSURANCE

Extensions.—Authorizations for group life insurance were extended in Colorado, Iowa, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin, especially for state employees, unions, etc. California amended its law.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

Summary.—North Carolina adopted workmen's compensation. This leaves Arkansas, Florida, Mississippi, and South Carolina without it. Thirty-three state laws were amended, with special improvement in Montana and New Mexico. Maximum weekly allowances and medical expenses were increased in several states, waiting periods were reduced by two states, and penalties for failure of a company to insure were raised by five states. Four states accepted the federal act for vocational retraining. This leaves four that have not.

New Laws.—Employees of the state highway commission of Arkansas are covered by compensation (Act 232). North Carolina has had workmen's compensation, and an industrial commission to administer it, since July 1, 1929. The law is compulsory in public employments and elective in all private employments. It doesn't apply to agriculture, domestic service, shops with fewer than five workers, casual workers, convicts, etc. Minors are included even if unlawfully employed. Occupational diseases are not covered. A wilful violation of safety laws by the company increases compensation ten percent, by the worker, lowers it ten. The waiting period is seven days, retroactive after 28 days. Compensation for total disability is 60 percent of wages, with an \$18 maximum and a \$7 minimum; total no more than 400 weeks or \$6,000. Lump sum settlements and voluntary agreements are permitted, subject to the approval of the commission (C. 120).

Proposals.—Of the four states without compensation, Florida defeated a bill in 1929, and so did Arkansas, where the Democratic platform of 1928 had endorsed it. The sponsors of compensation in Arkansas planned an initiative measure for 1930. In South Carolina a bill was introduced in January, 1930.

Oregon authorized a committee to study the need for amendments (S. J. R. 10). Maryland defeated a proposal to raise the weekly maximum, now \$18. The New York Bill (S. 679) for covering all occupational diseases was passed listing only four minor diseases. The International Association of Industrial Accident Boards and Commissions resolved

in favor of including all occupational diseases under compensation. All occupational diseases are covered in California, Connecticut, Massachusetts, North Dakota, Wisconsin, Hawaii, the Philippine Islands, and in the three federal laws.

Amendments.—Four hundred amendments were introduced in 1929. Ninety were adopted. Thirty-three state laws were amended. The more important changes made are as follows:

Alaska: added loss of hearing.

California: raised the penalty for failing to insure. The federal longshore compensation act has a maximum of \$25 a week. The California maximum has been raised to correspond.

Colorado: increased maximum medical attention from 60 days and \$200 to four months and \$500 and maximum weekly compensation from \$12 to \$14.

Connecticut: increased the compensation for losing an arm, and required physicians to report cases of occupational diseases.

Delaware: amended the exemptions and provided for total disablement of state highway policemen.

Georgia: requires more reports from companies.

Idaho: compensation for minors under 18 to be calculated on adult's wages.

Illinois: weekly maximum for disability raised from \$14 to \$15 for a worker with no children, from \$19 to \$20 for one with four or more.

Indiana: larger compensation for loss of hearing; minors illegally employed excluded by implication.

Iowa: medical maximum raised from \$100 to \$200.

Kansas: appeals shall have precedence over other court actions.

Maine: reorganized its commission.

Maryland: the commission may cancel the policy of a company insured in the state fund if it doesn't file payroll reports.

Massachusetts: under certain conditions the employee may engage a physician to testify at the expense of the insurer.

Michigan: no proceeding to modify compensation may be brought unless compensation is paid within 15 days of the time the proceeding is begun; compensation for national guard.

Minnesota: insurance companies must insure heavy risks collectively; ninety-day limit on medical care removed; compensation to minors to be computed on earning capacity of adult.

Missouri: more referees, more money.

Montana: considerable revision. Weekly maxima \$15-\$21.

Waiting period reduced from 14 to 7 days, if worker has dependents. \$100 for hernia operations. Sliding scale from 50-67 percent of weekly wage (total disability).

Nebraska: lump sum settlement may be by district court.

New Hampshire: state employees covered.

New Jersey: petition can't be dismissed without notice being served.

New Mexico: considerable revision. Public works under act. Road building and construction is added to list of extra-hazardous occupations. Weekly minimum-maximum now \$8-\$15, not \$6-\$12. Ten-day limit on medical attendance removed, cash limit raised from \$150 to \$350. The law is still administered by the courts.

New York: injuries from radium and x-rays in hospitals and laboratories were added to the occupational disease list. A revised list was then enacted, adding four minor groups and omitting radium and x-ray. Excepted from the law are per-

sons working not for hire, and clerical, teaching, or non-manual workers in religious, charitable, and educational institutions, ministers, members of religious orders. A contractor may withhold money due a sub-contractor if he has had to pay compensation for him.

North Dakota: some compensations raised.

Ohio: three more diseases added, powers of referees extended.

Oklahoma: appeal to Supreme Court must be accompanied by surety for payment.

Oregon: commission is to fix premiums for employers under the federal longshoremen's compensation act and bond of contractors on public works is to cover compensation.

Pennsylvania: new penalty for failing to insure; state employees outside the state on business and private too are covered.

Porto Rico: assessments for support of industrial commission increased; bureau created to administer state fund.

Rhode Island: amendment re state employees.

South Dakota: deputy sheriffs, constables, marshals, policemen, and firemen included.

Tennessee: highways and public workers covered.

Vermont: minor changes.

Washington: aggravation of disability by a pre-existing disease is to be taken into consideration in fixing compensation, authority of department to make lump sum payments is extended, method of collecting defaulted payments is strengthened, additional persons to rehear claims.

West Virginia: funeral expenses to be paid if death occurs within four years (used to be one), and is preceded by total disability from the date of the accident; no longer appeal to special commission.

Wisconsin: commission may permit employee to choose own physician; procedure on review of commission's award amended.

Wyoming: claim must be filed in five months instead of three; disfigurement is compensable; death benefits to parents increased.

Retraining.—The United States offers to match the funds which a state votes for vocational rehabilitation or retraining of workers crippled in industry. All but Vermont, Delaware, Kansas, and Washington have now accepted the offer. In 1929 it was accepted by Connecticut, with a \$5,000 appropriation. The board of education was directed to cooperate with the compensation commission and the federal board of vocational education. Maryland accepted, limiting the appropriation to \$5,000 in the first two years, and \$15,000 after that. Texas accepted \$44,296.50 of federal funds, for the first time. The District of Columbia accepted and appropriated \$15,000. Indiana and Montana increased their appropriations. The federal board and the United States Employees' Compensation Commission were directed by Congress to formulate a plan of cooperation for the rehabilitation of disabled civil servants.

ENFORCEMENT

Summary.—One labor commission was created and two were reorganized. One women's bureau was created. The difficulties of attracting capable administrators, and then of getting politicians to appoint them, continued. Powers of commissions were extended slightly, including Nebraska's and Maryland's decision to let a commission make safety rules. More money was made available in 19 states, with two minor contractions.

New Bureaus.—Kansas (which in 1925 handed over the powers of the Court of Industrial Relations to its public service commission) has created a commission of labor and industry. The chairman is in charge of compensation. One of the other two members is in charge of inspection, public employment bureaus, and women's and children's laws (C. 258, 183). Maine reorganized its compensation commission, raising it to five: three full-time men and the commissioners of labor and insurance (C. 300). New Jersey established a bureau for women and children, to study problems, to inspect, and to enforce the laws (C. 158). In Oregon the bureau of labor statistics and the inspector of factories and workshops were united as the bureau of labor (C. 344) and a constitutional amendment was passed for submission to the voters in 1930. It reorganizes the departments, including one of labor and industry, directors to be appointed by the governor with the consent of the senate (CS. J. R. 16).

The New Mexico Republican Party platform promised a commissioner of labor and industry. Three-fourths of the senate were Republicans elected on that platform. The proposed bill gave the commissioner power to inspect and to enforce the laws, and protect safety and health. The senate defeated it.

Jurisdiction.—California's accident commission is to get payroll records of women and minors under 21 (C. 256), also hours worked (C. 266). The mining bureau is to cover "mineral bearing properties of whatever kind" (C. 280). Prosecutions under the Pennsylvania labor laws are now by the department of labor, violators are liable for costs and for non-payment will go to prison for not over one month (No. 450).

Regulations.—Nebraska authorized its department of labor to make administrative regulations governing safety, after holding public hearings. Penalties for violating regulations,

\$25-1,000. Appeal is allowed (C. 138). The Maryland compensation commission was directed to make safety rules and to inspect (C. 426). A New York company claimed that a department of labor rule was in conflict with the statutes, but a lower court decision (*Acme Works v. Department of Labor*) held that it merely extended the law's coverage, as the department was authorized to do.

Salary Increases.—In 18 states and Alaska salaries of some of the labor administration were raised, appropriations increased, or force augmented. In Illinois there were also decreases. Kansas reduced the number of mine inspectors from five to four.

VI. COURT DECISIONS AFFECTING LABOR

LABOR INJUNCTIONS INVOLVING INTERSTATE COMMERCE

Strikes to Keep Scab Goods Out of Interstate Commerce Unlawful.—Perhaps the most far-reaching injunction of importance issued in 1929 was that obtained by Philadelphia clothing manufacturers against the Amalgamated Clothing Workers (*Alco-Zander Co. v. A. C. W. of Am.*, 35 Fed. (2d) 203 D. C. E. D. Pa.). The court concluded that the Amalgamated had undertaken a campaign to unionize the Philadelphia market to destroy the advantage it had over other markets by reason of non-union hours and wages. This was held unlawful both as a common law conspiracy and as a violation of the Sherman anti-trust law. The court, among other things, enjoined the defendants "from combining . . . to bring about a strike or strikes in the factories of complainants" from interfering "in any way" with their employees or using any funds for these purposes.

Acts Held No Interference With Interstate Commerce.—Last year we reported the denial of a preliminary injunction to various organ manufacturers who sought to enjoin building trades employees from striking against non-union men employed to install the organs.* This denial persisted after a trial of the issues before Judge Thatcher (*Aeolian Co. v. Fischer*, 35 Fed. [2d] 34). Although the evidence established that the organ installation was part of a contract involving interstate commerce the strikes were held to interfere with such commerce only indirectly and to be primarily concerned with the local installation. Thus the federal court took jurisdiction not under the Sherman Law but by virtue of the diversity of citizenship of the parties. In such circumstances the New York law controlled and permitted the acts sought to be restrained.

In *Rockword Corporation of St. Louis v. Bricklayers' Local No. 1* (33 Fed. [2d] 25, C. C. A. 8), a manufacturer of

* *American Labor Year Book*, 1929, p. 190.

gypsum who brought suit under the anti-trust laws was held to have been properly denied injunctive relief against the bricklayers for boycotting his material for two reasons: (1) the dispute was a jurisdictional one between bricklayers and carpenters as to which group should install plaintiff's material and any interference with plaintiff's interstate business was remote and indirect; (2) McNamara, the business agent of the bricklayers' local, acted solely on his own individual responsibility in calling the strike of bricklayers so that there could be no conspiracy or combination in violation of the anti-trust laws.

Pickets Required to Be Identifiable.—The teamsters' union called a series of strikes against the E. H. Scott Transportation Company, engaged in trucking freight in interstate commerce, in an effort to organize its drivers. The violence was considerable, extending even to the killing of one driver's helper. On this showing the United States District Court in Ohio issued an injunction to protect the non-union drivers but specifically provided for the stationing by the defendants of "one representative" at specified terminals permitted peacefully to persuade plaintiff's employees to join the union, such person to be identified by a conspicuous number "and the name of each such person, together with his identification number to be first filed with the clerk of this court." (*E. H. Scott Transportation Co. v. Murphy*, D. C. N. D. Ohio, Nov. 23, 1929.)

Clayton Act Held Not to Protect Peaceful Persuasion.—Because the Neptune Theatre in Kansas City introduced "talkies" the union projectionist was required to shift records, an operation not called for by his original contract. The business agent of the union demanded the execution of a new contract which was refused; the theatre owner asked for a conference with the union, which also was refused, and the owner told to sign the contract "or else." The projectionist quit and a strike attended by violence ensued. The Court issued an injunction prohibiting all picketing and persuasion. The case was in the federal court because of diversity of citizenship but the Clayton Act was held not to apply because (1) such a demand was not "a dispute" within the terms of that act and (2) the illegal conduct was so mingled with the legal that all alike were subject to restraint. (*Vaughan v. Kansas City Moving Picture Operators Union*, 36 Fed. [2d] 78 U. S. D. C. W. D. Mo.)

OTHER LABOR INJUNCTIONS

Equity Employment Contract Upheld.—The Circuit Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, reversing the District Court, held that the Actors Equity Association had the right to require its members to secure contracts of employment only through agencies holding equity permits. In order to secure such a permit the agency was required to use employment contracts in the form prescribed by Equity. Edelstein did not secure a permit but sought a preliminary injunction to prevent Equity's enforcing this policy. He secured it from the District Court among other reasons because (1) in order to secure the permit the agency was required to allow previously existing contracts to be modified and (2) because producers were asked to cooperate by employing only through those holding permits. In reversing Judge Swan said that Equity's motive in requiring that rights existing under old contracts be given up was not to injure the plaintiff but "to benefit themselves and their fellow actors in the economic struggle," and that the letters of notification did not ask producers to boycott those who had no permits but merely called their attention to the old closed shop rule and the possibility of suspending members on a new ground. (*Edelstein v. Gilmore*, 35 Fed. [2d] 723.)

Injunction Refused to Unfair Wisconsin Employer.—David Adler and Sons had for many years operated in Milwaukee under a contract with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Wishing to run on an open shop policy the company secretly violated its contract, locked out its union employees on a pretext, and then sought an injunction against the union's interfering with its employment of non-union workers. The lower court granted the injunction but sustained the counterclaim for damages for wrongful discharge of some of the employees. The Supreme Court reversed and dismissed the complaint holding that the company's conduct had precluded it from obtaining equitable relief. (*David Adler & Sons Co. v. Maglio*, 228 N. W. 123.)

New Orleans Car Strike.—In connection with the New Orleans street car strike an injunction issued upon the application of the trustees for the bondholders (*New York Trust Co., Trustee v. Amalgamated Assn. of Street & Electric Railway Employees, Division 194, U. S. D. C., E. D. of La., July 9, 1929*). Beside restraining all violence and intimidation it prohibited maintaining "more than" three representatives "at any point," "and then only for the pur-

pose of observation, communication of persuasion." Notice of the injunction was required to be given "by publication thereof in full in at least three newspapers published in the City of New Orleans."

Peaceful Picketing Enjoined in Missouri.—A small butcher shop was running under non-union conditions. The union which was attempting to organize it was restrained from doing any picketing where the court found that the picketing that had been done was "accompanied by intimidation, threats, violence, and coercion." (Joe Dan Market, Inc. v. Wentz, 20 S. W. [2d] 567, Ct. of Appeals, St. Louis, Mo.)

Oregon Rule Against Picketing in the Absence of a Strike.—In two cases in Portland, Oregon (Crouch v. Central Labor Council and Evans v. Central Labor Council, Circuit Court, Multnomah County, Oregon, Aug. 10, 1929, and June 26, 1929) the picketing of restaurants was enjoined in the absence of a strike. The New York rule is otherwise.*

Injunctions Issued in New York.—The Referee, William M. Cannon, before whom the case of Levering & Garrigues Co. v. Morrin (U. S. D. C., S. D. N. Y., Oct. 30, 1929) had been pending for over three years, determined that the boycott against members of the Iron League, an open shop group, conducted by the International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers, was unlawful and being carried on by unlawful means. The purpose of the union was to put the erection of structural steel upon a closed shop basis and the means employed was pressure upon owners, architects and contractors, referred to as "third parties neutrals." Such pressure took the form of strikes and letters threatening delays unless the work was given to erectors other than members of the Iron League. The size and power of the union was treated as one element in the situation, as well as the fact that it was an "outsider" and not the authorized agent of plaintiffs' employees, and that an injury was done to the general public.

Charles G. Wood, Conciliation Commissioner of the United States Department of Labor, wrote letters to employers having working agreements with the Independent Shoe Workers Union of Greater New York regarding the communist character of that organization. When two such employers thereafter had labor troubles—strikes according to the employers, or lockouts according to the union—they applied to the courts

* *American Labor Year Book*, 1928, p. 160; 1929, p. 191.

for injunction. Justice Callahan refused the injunction (*La-Valle, Inc. v. Alexanderson*, N. Y. L. Jnl., 12/31/29) holding there was no showing that the strike was for an unlawful purpose or carried on by unlawful means and said that in such circumstances "the political views of the strikers are wholly immaterial. . . . The court has no desire to criticise the letter of the Conciliation Commissioner of the Department of Labor except to say that if it advises the plaintiff to break a solemn contract because of the political views of the other contracting party it disagrees with that advice. In any event, if plaintiff has done so it surely cannot expect the aid of a court of equity." In the other case (*Bressler Shoe, Inc. v. Alexanderson, et al*, N. Y. L. Jnl., 12/31/29) Justice Dunne granted the injunction because of the violence accompanying the strike.

Because of the violence accompanying it, all picketing was restrained in *Wil-low Cafeterias, Inc. v. Kramberg* (134 Misc. 841). Another reason given by Justice Sherman was "defendants' undenied purpose of crushing plaintiff's restaurants so that they may supplant them with restaurants of their own."

The New York Supreme Court enjoined the building trades unions from boycotting materials delivered by the plaintiffs' non-union truckmen. The Court issued the injunction "solely" because the union's purpose "of coercing the plaintiffs (a group of concerns selling building materials in Westchester County) to unionize their yards," was illegal (*Wilson & Adams Co. v. Pearce*, 237 N. Y. Supp. 601, Westchester County.)

Illinois Anti-Injunction Law Held Not to Protect Picketing.—A strike was called for an increase in wages. It was attended by some violence and all picketing restrained. Persons carrying placards stating that metal polishers were on strike were adjudged in contempt. In the absence of an appeal from the injunction order the Illinois anti-injunction law was held not to protect peaceful pickets from being fined for contempt of the injunction. (*Chicago Flexible Shaft Co. v. Metal Polishers, Buffers & Platers Union, Local 6*, 252 Ill. App. 649.)

Massachusetts High Court Holds Strike Illegal.—The New England Wood Heel Co. formerly operated under a closed shop contract with the Shoe Workers' Protective Union, District Council No. 1 and Local 11 of said District. When the contract expired December 31, 1928, the company refused

to renew and began to operate on an open shop basis. A strike was called and picketing instituted. The upper court sustained the holding of the trial judge that the strike was unlawful and his injunction restraining all picketing and the union's refusal to work on plaintiff's scab-made product. The union's agreement with its members required them to remain members until expelled and not to work on shoes partly manufactured in a plant against which a strike was declared. The company's employment of former union members with knowledge of their contract with the organization was held not to be a malicious interference with such contract and the strike at plaintiff's plant being unlawful could not justify a refusal to work on his product pursuant to the union's rule. (*New England Wood Heel Co. v. Nolan*, 167 N. E. 323.)

Minerich Goes to Jail.—The United States Supreme Court refused to review the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals* holding Minerich in contempt of court. (*Minerich v. U. S.*, 279 U. S. 843.)

SUITS AGAINST EMPLOYERS

Employees' Right to Choose Own Representatives Sustained.—The decisions reported last year* enjoining and holding the Texas and New Orleans Railway in contempt of court for violating the injunction restraining interference with employee representatives under the Watson Parker Act by the Brotherhood of Railway & Steamship Workers was affirmed (33 Fed. [2d] 13, C. C. A. 5). The United States Supreme Court will review the decision (certiorari granted, 280 U. S. temporary page 30A.)

Registry System Sustained.—The decision reported last year* holding after a trial that the registry system of the Ship Owners Association of the Pacific Coast was legal was affirmed on appeal (*Andersen v. Ship Owners Ass'n.*, 31 Fed. [2d] 539, C. C. A. IX).

Union Carpenters Obtain Injunction.—The Landis Award in Chicago, assuming to settle the 1920 dispute between the building trades and building contractors, was never subscribed to by the union carpenters. A citizen's committee was then organized which put itself behind an open shop

* *American Labor Year Book*, 1929, p. 193.

** *American Labor Year Book*, 1929, p. 190.

movement in the carpenters' trade. The Carpenters' District Council brought suit for an injunction to stop interference by this committee with the employment of union carpenters. Despite a holding that certain acts of the committee were illegal, relief was denied because the carpenters did not come into equity with clean hands. The Supreme Court of Illinois finally reversed this ruling and issued the injunction, holding that as intermeddlers the committee was not affected by the unfair conduct of the carpenters to their employers. (*Carpenters' Union v. The Citizens' Committee to Enforce the Landis Award*, 164 N. E. 393.)

Union Agreement Protected by Injunction.—Justice Riegelmann granted a preliminary injunction to the Retail Dairy and Grocery Clerks Union of New York, Local No. 338, restraining the defendant, engaged in the retail dairy, grocery and fruit business, from violating its agreement to employ only members in good standing of the union. The defendant had refused to discharge three clerks whom the union had expelled for non-payment of dues. (*Ribner v. Racso Butter & Egg Co.*, N. Y. L. Jnl. 12/21/29.)

The Massachusetts Supreme Court (*Henry v. Century Shoe Company*, Essex County, Nov. 25, 1929) went a step further and enjoined from any interference with a working agreement not only the corporation with whom the United Shoe Workers Union of Lynn had the agreement, but the officers as well who were threatening to form a new company employing only workers who had signed "yellow-dog" contracts.

Custom Required Back Payment of Wage.—The publishers of the U. S. Daily in the District of Columbia were held liable for back pay sufficient to bring the pay of their printers up to the union scale. Since 1882 in the District of Columbia the custom had been that any new scale reached either by negotiation or arbitration was retroactive from the date when the scale was "open" because either printers or publishers had given 30 days' notice of dissatisfaction. Union rules required a closed shop and the payment of the union scale of wages. This custom was held applicable where its managers were experienced newspaper men familiar with the custom though the paper was organized during the "open" period and had no agreement with the union (*U. S. Daily Pub. Corp. v. Nichols*, 32 Fed. [2d] 834).

Loan Sharks Enjoined.—The Supreme Court of Kansas awarded the Attorney General of the state an injunction restraining the business of various loan sharks who were

making small loans to wage earners at usurious rates of interest. (Kansas ex rel Smith & McMahon, 128 Kan. 772, 280 Pac. 906.)

INTER-UNION DISPUTES

Jurisdictional Dispute Between Iron Workers and Carpenters.—Because a jurisdictional strike had ceased before a contractor asked for an injunction the court refused it. But the court held that the law protected the plaintiff in carrying out its contract to install hollow metal doors and trim, including its right in performing the contract "to employ any character of labor it may choose regardless of the particular labor union to which it may belong or whether it be union or non-union." The dispute was between Local 22 of the Iron Workers and the Brotherhood of Carpenters (Metal Door & Trim Company v. Booth, D. C. S. D. of Ind., Dec. 28, 1928).

Another dispute between the carpenters and iron workers brought an injunction which included a provision requiring officials to rescind a strike order. (Dahlstrom Metallic Door Co. v. Local 5, International Ass'n. of Bridge, Structural & Ornamental Iron Workers, Sup. Ct. D. C., Feb. 26, 1929, no opinion.)

Vested Rights of Local Unions.—The typographical union was enjoined from putting into effect an amendment to its constitution putting an end to trade district unions the members of which had for years been paying moneys to the parent organization. The U. S. Supreme Court refused to review the decision (Howard v. Weissman, 31 Fed. [2d] 689, C. C. A. 7, certiorari denied, 280 U. S., temporary p. 53A.)

CRIMINAL CASES

Conviction Reversed Because of Injection of Radicalism in Criminal Trial.—During the New York furriers strike of 1926 the two proprietors of a fur shop which was raided were assaulted. Of the eleven indicted for this offense two were acquitted and nine members of the union were convicted. As to two of those convicted who were admittedly at the scene and identified by four witnesses as participating in the raid the New York Court of Appeals sustained the convictions. It reversed the convictions of the other seven against whom the evidence was no stronger than against the two who were acquitted because they had been able to put in convincing alibis, for the reason that left wing activities and

A. F. of L. policies were admitted in evidence. (*Peo. v. Malkin*, 250 N. Y. 185). Judge Lehman said:

Society may be endangered as much by the violence of its friends as of its enemies, and an appeal to prejudice as a factor in determination of guilt is, in the final analysis, an appeal to violence.

Urging Violation of Injunction a Crime.—Persons acting together in distributing circulars urging in strong language the general violation of injunctions held guilty of a statute (Penal Law § 580) which makes it punishable in New York to conspire to commit any act for the perversion or obstruction of justice, or of the due administration of the laws (*Peo. v. Makvirta*, 224 App. Div. 419).

Resisting Illegal Police Act Held Disorderly Conduct.—Sixteen defendants were found guilty of disorderly conduct, breach of the peace and violation of Sunday laws when the police of Philadelphia broke up a Communist meeting "to organize the unemployed," for which the Superintendent of Police had refused a license. On appeal eleven convictions were reversed. Five were held guilty, although the meeting required no license, because of the public disturbance created in resisting "the illegal action of the police" in breaking up the meeting. (*Com. v. Cooper*, 11 Adv. Sheets Pa. Legal Intelligencer, 56.)

Not Disorderly Conduct.—Magistrate Ewald held in New York that carrying a banner announcing a strike where in fact no strike exists is not disorderly conduct (*Peo. v. Schroedman*, 133 Misc. 557, 232 N. Y. Supp. 302).

CASES INVOLVING CIVIL LIBERTIES

Pennsylvania Seditious Law Upheld.—Three of the four defendants convicted in the Woodlawn case have started to serve their sentences after appeals were unsuccessfully prosecuted (*Com. v. Widovich*, 145 Atl. 295, Kephart, J.). The case arose as a result of a meeting at Muselin's house which was raided. The six-page list of exhibits introduced at the trial gives some idea of the literature admitted against the defendants, which included everything from Haldeman-Julius pamphlets to David Gordon's poem "America," as well as a mass of material issued by the Workers' Party. The Superior Court (93 Superior Ct. Reports, 323) reversed the conviction of Steve Bratich, whose membership in the Workers' Party was the only evidence against him. The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania upheld the constitutionality of the Pennsyl-

vania sedition law for the first time in this case. The United States Supreme Court refused to review the case (Appeal dismissed and certiorari denied, sub nomine *Muselin v. Pennsylvania*, 280 U. S., temporary p. 6A.)

White Primaries in Virginia Unconstitutional.—Last year Texas held the Democratic Party could lawfully exclude negroes from the Democratic primaries.* A federal court in Virginia reached a precisely opposite conclusion this year and held a political party authorized by statute to fix qualifications for voters could no more disqualify negroes than the state itself could (*West v. Bliley*, 33 Fed. [2d] 177—Groner, J.). A later Texas decision adhered to the position that negroes could be excluded, because of the difference in the primary laws of the two states (*Nixon v. Condon*, 34 Fed. [2d] 464). The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is appealing the decision.

Injunctions Against the Post Office Refused.—Two unsuccessful injunction proceedings were instituted in the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York to compel the Post Office to carry mail matter which the government refused to transmit on account of slogans on the envelopes. Judge Thatcher held the phrase "Smash the Murder Frame-Up Against the Gastonia Strikers" to be defamatory and perhaps threatening (no opinion, *Hacker v. Kiely*, July 9, 1929). Judge Coleman similarly ruled that envelopes carrying the statements "California shame", "Justice California Style" and "a terrible indictment" defamed the people of California (no opinion *American Civil Liberties Union, Inc. v. Kiely*, Aug. 14, 1929). An appeal is pending in the latter case.

Compulsory Bible Reading in the Public Schools Unconstitutional.—The Supreme Court of South Dakota held unconstitutional a state statute and the order of a local school board requiring public school children to listen to the reading of the King James version of the Bible without sectarian comment. A Catholic compelled the reinstatement of his child with an exemption from attendance at such reading (*S. D. ex rel Finger v. Weedman*, 226 N. W. 348, Burch. J.).

United States Supreme Court Sustains State Court Ruling Admitting Evidence Secured by Illegal Search and Seizure.—The federal courts have always excluded evidence obtained by illegal search and seizure. (*Silverthorne Lumber Co. et al. v. U. S.*, 251 U. S. 385). The various states have taken diver-

* *American Labor Year Book*, 1929, p. 196.

gent views on this question. The United States Supreme Court this year refused to review a conviction for a liquor law violation in the state court of Iowa although it was founded upon evidence secured by illegal search and seizure. (*Bamsey v. Iowa*, certiorari denied 280 U. S., temporary p. 73A). During the year similar convictions in the federal court were reversed. (*Fall v. U. S.* 33 Fed. [2d] 71; *Raniele v. U. S.*, 34 Fed. [2d] 877.)

Pennsylvania Supreme Court Sustains Censorship of the Talkies.—The Pennsylvania statute requiring the licensing of films was held broad enough to include the sound films. (*In re Fox Film Corp.*, 145 Atl. 514, *Frazer*, J.)

RIGHTS OF ALIENS

Pacifist Denied Citizenship.—The United States Supreme Court, reversing the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit, refused to admit Rosika Schwimmer to citizenship because she stated that she would not bear arms in defense of her adopted country (*U. S. v. Schwimmer* 279 U. S. 644). In the dissenting opinion, written by Justice Holmes and concurred in by Justice Brandeis, it was said:

If there is any principle of the Constitution that more imperatively calls for attachment than any other it is the principle of free thought—not free thought for those who agree with us but freedom for the thought that we hate. I think we should adhere to that principle with regard to admission into, as well as to life within this country.

Anti-Fascist Saved from Deportation to Italy.—Although the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit affirmed an order sustaining the deportation to Italy of an anti-fascist, Giletti (*U. S. ex rel Giletti v. Commissioner*, 35 Fed. [2d] 687 CCAII) Judge Learned Hand's opinion made plain that such a deportation might be an abuse of discretion by the Labor Department if the record showed that the alien was able to depart at his own expense to some other country. Thereafter Giletti showed he could go to Soviet Russia and was permitted to do so.

Citizenship of Communist Cancelled.—Tapolcsanyi, admitted to citizenship had it cancelled as a result of a letter written a year later to his brother in Hungary and furnished to the United States by the Hungarian Government, berating his brother for being "patriotic," and stating that he himself had been for eight years "a pure Red communist" and urging his brother to adhere to the Third international (*United States v. Tapolcsanyi*, 32 Fed. [2d] 385). The appeal had been argued but not determined at the end of the year.

Deportations Prevented.—The District Court for the Southern District of New York refused to sustain the warrants to deport John Voich (U. S. ex rel Voich v. Commissioner, U. S. Daily July 19, 1929, Thacher, J.), and Rade Radakovich (U. S. ex rel Radakovich v. Commissioner, July 26, 1929, Bondy, J.), the former found by the Labor Department to be a member of a proscribed organization, and the finding against the latter including in addition the distribution of proscribed literature. In the Voich case Judge Thacher said:

The Relator consorted with radical agitators, and no doubt sympathized with their views, but this is not enough to warrant his deportation, unless prejudice is to take the place of proof.

STATE LABOR LEGISLATION

State Laws Held Constitutional.—Among the state statutes which were held constitutional during 1929 were the following: The North Dakota 48-hour week law for women (State v. Ehr, 221 N. W. 883); the Tennessee compulsory mine shower bath law (Sun Coal Co. v. State, 11 S. W. [2d] 893); the Maryland law providing for an eight-hour day and the payment of the prevailing rate of wages for employees employed by or for the city of Baltimore (Ruark v. International Union of Operating Engineers, Local 37, 146 Atl. 797).

State Laws Held Unconstitutional.—Statutes held unconstitutional included: the Massachusetts law forbidding employment contracts with a condition that the employee purchase stock (In re Opinion of Justices, 166 N. E. 401); the Washington law limiting the number of apprentices in barber shops (Marx v. Maybwey, 30 Fed. [2d] 839).

Kentucky Script Act Upheld and Applied.—A Kentucky statute required employers who paid in script to redeem the same once a month upon presentation of a record of the persons from whom the script was secured and whether par was paid for it. A store presented such record and demanded that its script be redeemed. The Court of Appeals required this to be done though the company resisted payment upon the ground that there was no proof that the store secured the script directly from its employees (Western Kentucky Coal Co. v. Nall & Bailey, 14 S. W. [2d] 400).

California Compensation Act Construed.—The Supreme Court of California annulled an award made by the Workmen's Compensation Commission for the death of a worker killed by a striker on his way to work, (Enterprise Foundry Co. v. Industrial Accident Commission 275 Pac. 432).

VII. CIVIL LIBERTIES

POLITICAL PRISONERS

Convictions and Sentences Under State Sedition Acts.—After they lost their appeal before the United States Supreme Court, three Communists (Peter Muselin, Milan Reseter, and Tom Zima), convicted under the Pennsylvania sedition act, entered prison on November 27, 1929, the first political prisoners to do so since 1927. Seven others, already convicted, await action on their appeals; four more are under indictment in this state.

In Ohio also, three Communists (Lil Andrews, Charles Guynn, and Tom Johnson) were convicted of criminal syndicalism for distributing literature. Two others are under indictment. In California the state "red-flag" law was invoked to convict five Communist women (Esther Karpeloff, Bella Mintz, Emma Schneiderman, Yetta Stromberg, and Jennie Wolfson) for displaying the red flag over a summer camp for children. In Illinois the state sedition law, dead for ten years, was used to indict 26 members of the Communist Party.

Mooney and Billings.—Governor C. C. Young promised on January 10, 1929, to review the cases of Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings during his summer vacation. On November 21 he transferred all the material to the Advisory Pardon Board for "study." The Tom Mooney Molders Defense Committee declares that "according to California law and the present legal status of the Mooney case, the governor is the sole judge of Mooney's guilt at the present time. It is he alone who needs to be convinced. . . ." Billings' application for pardon, made in November, went to the state Supreme Court because under the laws of California a man serving a second sentence for a felony can be pardoned only if a majority of the Supreme Court judges approve.

Centralia.—The Centralia Release Committee and Centralia Publicity Committee continued their efforts to release the seven I. W. W.'s serving 25-40 year sentences for defending their hall from an armed attack by American Legion paraders at Centralia, Washington, in 1919. The new Washington Conciliation Committee has effectively added its

weight to the support of this cause. Late in the year the Federal Council of Churches started a searching investigation of the case with the intention of issuing a complete report of findings.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND ASSEMBLAGE

Prosecutions.—In the summary of cases handled by the International Labor Defense for the full year of 1928 and 10 months of 1929, 627 arose from demonstrations and meetings, 435 for distributing literature, and 130 for miscellaneous charges, such as libel, disrespect for the American flag, etc. In addition, 98 were deportation cases, and 91 involved charges of sedition and criminal syndicalism. According to the American Civil Liberties Union, the number of free speech prosecutions, exclusive of strike cases, totaled 228 in 1929, against 524 in 1928. Active repression against left-wing and Communist groups increased in severity during the year, however.

Police Interference With Meetings.—Police continued to interfere with meetings, parades and demonstrations in 1929, to the extent of at least 52 instances, 43 of which involved Communist Party members. New York City led with 15 cases. The police of this city were unusually active against the Communists. Pennsylvania was second, with 11 cases. A free speech victory was won at Toledo where the Director of Public Safety in agreement with representatives of the organizations involved set aside four street corners for open-air meetings.

Strikes.—Hundreds of cases involving strikers raised the question of their rights to freedom of speech and assemblage, basic for successful organization work. The International Labor Defense reported 210 cases resulting from the Gastonia, North Carolina strike alone, and 4,316 other strike cases in 1928-1929. In the Gastonia conflict, anti-union mobs wrecked the strikers' headquarters, kidnapped and flogged organizers and killed Ella May Wiggins, 29 year old striker, while on her way with others to a prohibited strike meeting. Strikers' homes were raided without warrant, picket lines were broken up and scores arrested. Civil liberties issues were raised in the trial of those charged with the fatal shooting of Chief of Police Aderholt, when he and his deputies invaded the strikers' tent colony, because the judge permitted admission of testimony involving the religious and political views of the defendants. The conviction of the seven (Fred

Beal, George Carter, Joseph Harrison, K. Y. Hendricks, W. M. McGinnis, Lewis McLaughlin, and Clarence Miller) on charges of second degree murder to long prison sentences, was appealed to the State Supreme Court.

Not a single one of those responsible for murder, kidnapping, and other violence in the Marion strike, run by the United Textile Workers of the American Federation of Labor, was brought to justice. The sheriff and his deputies who killed six workers and wounded 20 more were exonerated. Strikers' families were evicted from company-owned houses and their leaders were expelled from their church. A. F. of L. leaders were kidnapped. Four strikers, however, were convicted of "rioting," three of whom to six months on the chain gang, and the other, Alfred Hoffmann, union organizer, to 30 days in jail and \$1,000 fine.

MISCELLANEOUS

Academic Freedom.—Two students and an instructor were dismissed from the University of Pittsburgh for participation in a Mooney-Billings meeting and other liberal activities. A report of a special committee of the American Association of University Professors assailed the University officials for their repressive acts and charged the administration with being more interested in endowments than in intellectual freedom. At the University of Missouri two instructors were discharged and one suspended for circulating among the students a questionnaire on sex and marriage. Detroit City College, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Duke University banned meetings. The New York City Board of Education refused to allow Roger N. Baldwin to speak to the students of Richmond High School. Several high schools discriminated against pupils belonging to Communist organizations.

Censorship.—The Post Office Department barred from the mails envelopes bearing the slogan: "Smash the Murder Frame-Up Against the Gastonia Victims." It also held up pamphlets on the Mooney case because they were sent in envelopes bearing the legends: "California's Shame," "Justice California Style," and "A Terrible Indictment."

The Secretary of State in November reversed the ruling of the Coolidge administration, and allowed Count Michael Karolyi, first president of Hungary, and his wife to enter the United States.

DEFENSE ORGANIZATIONS

American Civil Liberties Union.—This pioneer civil liberties organization has continued its aggressive fight over a wider field in defense of the civil rights of minorities. In areas of industrial dispute it has backed civil actions in behalf of the victims of illegal police violence; it has interested itself in aliens to whom citizenship was denied on grounds of their political opinions or their religious or philosophical opposition to war; it has fought for the preservation of academic freedom, and has stood against efforts to legislate evolutionary biology out of the schools; and on all fronts it has resisted intolerance and repressive tactics as they were directed against non-conformist groups and individuals. The National Mooney-Billings Committee, which the Union helped to establish, is being used as an agency to campaign for the release of these two men. Similarly the Union was instrumental in setting up the Washington Conciliation Committee, which has fought in behalf of the Centralia prisoners. During the year the Union has engaged in the struggle against some of the more pernicious forms of censorship. It gave effective support in Washington, D. C. to Senator Cutting's amendment for the abolition of the customs censorship over imported books. Its fight for the restoration of civil rights to persons convicted under the war-time espionage acts is being continued. In general it has stood for the repeal of repressive legislation and for the full recognition of civil rights in labor, radical and other minority groups.

Sacco-Vanzetti National League.—The League continued its patient work to secure the public vindication of Sacco and Vanzetti. During 1929 it brought to light the attempt of President Lowell of Harvard to suppress from the record of the advisory committee's proceedings the testimony of two witnesses for Sacco, Felice Guadagni, and Albert Bosco. Early in the year Albert and Charles Boni brought out another book on the case, *Thirteen Days*, by Jeanette Marks.

International Committee for Political Prisoners.—This organization has altogether raised over \$2,000 for relief of political prisoners in Bulgaria, France, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Rumania, and Soviet Russia, besides publishing: *Political Persecution Throughout the World*, *Letters from Russian Prisons*, *The Fascist Dictatorship*, and *Political Prisoners in Poland*. It is affiliated with the League Against Imperialism and the League for the Rights of Man. In 1929 it pressed the foreign offices of a number of countries for amnesty, to improve the treatment of prisoners, and concerning persecutions.

International Labor Defense.—At the fourth national conference, December 29-31, 1929, in Pittsburgh, there were reported present 337 delegates, from 40 states. The income and expenditures for the first 11 months of 1929 were given as follows:

INCOME

General purposes, dues, literature, special campaigns	\$ 25,460.64
Gastonia defense	88,750.02
Gastonia anti-terror drive	237.91
Special defense cases, including Accorsi, Cheswick, Mineola, etc.	5,435.58
For relief of prisoners	1,345.68
Labor Defender	10,779.37
Total	\$132,009.20

EXPENDITURES

Publicity and organization	\$ 7,851.47
Administration	15,313.76
Gastonia defense, legal and relief	80,660.26
Gastonia anti-terror drive	3,036.16
Legal defense, special cases	10,081.13
Relief for political prisoners and dependents.....	6,994.22
Labor Defender	15,520.46
Total	\$139,457.46

For 1929 the organization reported an income of \$8,618.90 from dues, which "at ten cents per dues stamp shows an average dues paying membership of 7,182." In the resolution on the "General Situation, Problems and the Future Tasks of the International Labor Defense," adopted at the Pittsburgh conference, the following clauses appeared:

The International Labor Defense is not neutral in politics. As a working class organization it takes definite position on all important political problems. . . . In the presidential elections of 1928, the I. L. D. called on the workers to vote for the candidates of the Communist Party. . . .

The I. L. D. cannot tolerate as members of its organization those who are opposed to its class policies. It must, therefore, combat the hostile policies of Cannon and Lovestone and those who support them.

The bosses' attack against the workers is supported by the American Federation of Labor and the Socialist Party whose role is that of social fascists. . . . The Socialist Party as well as the "left" wing in the A. F. of L., the Muste group, whose main purpose is to mislead the workers and prevent them from energetic struggle against capitalism, are acting as agents of American imperialism within the ranks of the American working class.

VIII. WORKERS' EDUCATION

WORKERS EDUCATION BUREAU

Membership and Finance.—The report of the executive committee to the sixth convention, April 5-7, 1929, Washington, D. C., indicated the following affiliated unions and study classes:

47 National and International Unions	132 Central Labor Unions
22 State Federations	428 Local Unions
	25 Study Classes

In 1928 the Workers Education Bureau received \$8,047.65 from the unions, in 1927, \$9,861.39. In the two years there was a gain of 62 percent from this source over against 1925 and 1926. The following table of disbursements indicates a steady increase, with the exception of the last year. Part of the drop is accounted for because of "an agreement with the directors of the Workers Education Bureau Press," whereby "one-half of certain current expenses such as rent are now borne by the Press."

1922-1923	11,673.31	1924-1925	\$27,354.09
1923-1924	23,272.91	1925-1926	29,260.38
		1926-1927	38,476.62
1924-1925	27,354.09	1927-1928	24,776.55

The report listed as financial aids, besides per capita tax and membership fees of unions, individual membership fees, individual donations, grants from foundations, and sale of publications.

In discussing the possibility of state aid to state and local enterprises which the Bureau is interested in, the report states:

... the possibilities of state aid as a source of income for the work ... have hardly been touched up to the present time. In the section devoted to the discussion of the work in California, we pointed out the way in which grants, for public money have been "ear marked" for labor education and expended under the direction of the Joint Committee on Workers' Education. The integrity of a workers' educational enterprise has been preserved. At the same time that state funds have been available for the employment of a director of workers' education, in effect by the State Federation of Labor, payment of the traveling expenses of teachers and other expenses, which are incidental to the movement in the state, have been provided through such funds in addition to that received from student fees.

New Leadership.—Writing in the official monthly bulletin, *Workers' Education*, Spencer Miller, Jr. secretary of the Bureau, closed his article on the Washington convention as follows:

The resolution committee's report concluded the work of the convention—including in its recommendation the plan for an appropriate testimonial to the retiring president, James H. Maurer, for his eight years of devoted service.

This concluded the sixth national convention of the Workers Education Bureau, with President-Elect Burke in the chair at the closing session, as a symbol of the new leadership of the Bureau. . . .

The report of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor to the Toronto (1929) convention declared:

The Washington convention . . . provided an opportunity for a thorough consideration of those matters which are fundamental to the future of the movement, such as the questions of educational policy, of control, and method of carrying on the work. The cooperative plan of workers' education as developed in California between the State Federation of Labor and the State University is the basis of work. In the important matter of economic freedom, the policy as enunciated by the Association of University Professors has been adopted as a future policy of the Bureau.

In his presidential address James H. Maurer reviewed the events of the previous two years in workers' education. He asserted that "the basic aim of workers' education as an intelligent guide to a new social order was now being denied; that freedom of academic discussion received a death blow in the Brookwood case; that the proposal of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor to the Los Angeles (1927) convention, for a change in the constitution of the Bureau, would be fatal; and that the proposal of the New Orleans (1928) convention to cooperate with the state universities would menace the control by labor."

For the committee on constitution Matthew Woll delivered a majority, and Israel Mufson a minority report. The first amendment provided that labor colleges to be eligible for affiliation should be approved by both central labor unions and state federations of labor, and not be antagonistic to the bona fide labor movement. It was adopted unanimously. The second amendment called for the election of eight members of the executive committee at large, with the elimination of group selections. The minority declared that the proposal "would increase the power of international unions at the expense of the locals, that it was a disguised attempt to exclude workers' educational enterprises, that it deprives labor colleges of the right to choose their own representa-

tives, that it was suggested because of fear of freedom in education." Chairman Woll "pointed out that the proposal to wipe out the groupings was to eliminate the caucusing for an election, and provide it directly from labor to overcome the inequities of multiple representation of delegates, and added that the proposal did not exclude any group from representation, but provided for the election to membership on merit." The amendment prevailed by an overwhelming majority.

The third change dealt with vacancies and was also adopted, as was the fourth, fixing the method for calling conventions. The final amendment was hotly debated. It provided for an increase in the representation of the national and international unions at the conventions and a decrease for workers' educational enterprises. After the amendments were all carried, President Maurer surrendered the gavel and withdrew to the back of the hall. At the same time there was a walk-out by ten of the delegates led by Mr. Muste. Most of them including Mr. Muste, however, returned within an hour. At its January, 1929, meeting the executive committee had voted to disaffiliate Brookwood Labor College, pending the adjustment of their differences with the American Federation of Labor. The Washington convention sustained this action after listening to a plea for the school from A. J. Muste, and a statement of the A. F. of L. position by delegate Victor Olander. The representatives of the Federation on the executive committee of the Bureau tendered their good offices to representatives of Brookwood to adjust their difficulties. They were not accepted, it is claimed.

The new officers and members of the executive committee follow:

Thomas E. Burke, Plumbers' Union, president
Thomas Kennedy, United Mine Workers, treasurer
Spencer Miller, Jr., secretary
Matthew Woll, chairman of the executive committee
Fannia M. Cohn, Paul W. Fuller, John L. Kerchen, Elmer S. Milliman, Victor Olander, George W. Perkins and Harry A. Russell

Activities.—Among the activities of the Bureau during the year have been the work in the South and in New England. Paul Fuller who for the past two and a half years has been engaged in educational work in Passaic and Paterson, New Jersey, was detailed to Elizabethton, Tennessee, in July 1929, to establish educational work in that community in cooperation with the United Textile Workers of America. In describing Mr. Fuller's work before the Toronto Convention of the American Federation of Labor, the secretary said:

He has not "gone down to the South," as some people choose to use the phrase, with a kind of condescension, with a kind of superior virtue on the part of the North toward the problems of the South. He has gone as a friend. He has gone into the homes of these fine men and women of the Tennessee mountains. He has shared their humble fare, he has preached in their churches, he has taught in their schools, he has identified himself with the social, economic and spiritual life of these people. He has carried to them the message of education, the message of hope, the message of their future possibilities in terms of a growing and functioning trade union movement. He has held great mass meetings, he has held smaller meetings in the various lodges and halls; he has gone out in the countryside to talk to these men and women. Wherever he has gone it has been with that keen apprehension that he is a friend and an interpreter to these people.

Under the direction of Harry A. Russell, New England representative of the Bureau, a New England Labor Congress was held in October, attended by about 350 delegates and persons from the six New England States. The conference considered among other matters the prospect and place of the workers in the industrial future of New England. As a result of the congress a continuation committee consisting of the executive officers of the New England state federations of labor was set up with Harry Russell as its secretary. Provisions were made for research. A series of industrial conferences in the various trades have been also held as a direct outgrowth of this larger congress.

The Bureau cooperated with local workers' educational centers in setting up conferences on questions of current labor interest, such as the injunction, five-day week and old age pensions. The secretary of the Bureau was also invited to take part in the first world conference on adult education which was held in Cambridge, England, last summer. The Workers Education Bureau Press carried forward its publication program during the year. In addition to the pamphlets and proceedings which were published, provision was made for the preparation of a summary of *Recent Economic Changes*, published by the National Bureau of Economic Research.

BROOKWOOD

Purpose.—Brookwood Labor College was the subject of attack by the leaders of the American Federation of Labor and the Workers Education Bureau, on the one hand, and by the heads of the Communist Party, on the other, during 1929. These onslaughts compelled Brookwood to restate its policy. In its bulletin and announcement of courses for 1929-30 the following statement of purpose appeared:

Brookwood thinks of itself as a part of the labor movement of America and of the world. Brookwood thinks of the labor movement both as a practical instrument by which workers achieve higher wages, shorter hours, and better conditions of work, and as a great social force having as its ultimate goal the good life for all men in a social order free from exploitation and based upon control by the workers. . . .

As an educational institution, Brookwood has not considered it to be its job to promulgate without analysis the views or policies of any particular organization or faction in the labor movement. It tries . . . to teach students how to think, not to tell them what to think.

The Brookwood faculty on June 2, 1929, requested the board of directors not to re-engage Dr. Arthur W. Calhoun as a member of the staff. The board unanimously adopted the suggestion, basing its decision chiefly on the following:

Dr. Calhoun contends that Brookwood should adopt a policy of Communism, and that those who take a contrary position are betrayers of labor.

A. J. Muste, the chairman of the faculty, as well as the other members of the staff, including the officers of Brookwood, Inc., took a leading part in the organization of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action.

Faculty and Students.—On January 1, 1930, John C. Kennedy became a member of the faculty. He was educational director of the Seattle Labor College since 1919, Socialist member of the Chicago city council, and a former instructor at the University of Chicago. Mark Starr of Great Britain was continued for another year as special lecturer and tutor. The other members of the staff include A. J. Muste, David J. Saposs, Josephine Colby, Helen G. Norton, Clinton S. Golden, and Tom Tippet.

In June, 1929, Brookwood graduated 11 students. On October 14, 1929, it opened its ninth year with a student body of 37; a little less than a third were returning second-year students. Thirteen were textile workers, seven from the South. Nearly half were women.

Curriculum.—The labor college offered its resident students a one-year course of seven months and a second year of specialized work; and to active workers and union officers short courses of two or three months. The curriculum includes classes covering the labor movement historically, underlying economic and sociological theory, and practical work in journalism, workers' education, and union organization. American history, psychology, history of civilization, and government are offered, among other subjects.

Extension Work and Correspondence Courses.—An innovation in 1930 is the development of correspondence courses in the extension department, under the direction of Tom Tippet.

The extension work of 1929 included classes and lectures in Allentown, Baltimore, Harrisburg, Lancaster, Newark, New York, Paterson, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Reading, and York. Special emphasis was put on work in the South. Classes were organized, or lectures were delivered in Durham, Elizabethton, Gastonia, Marion, as well as other points in North Carolina, Nashville, and various cities in Virginia. Contacts were made with trade union, workers' educational, and Y. M. C. A., and Y. W. C. A. groups. Brookwood was closely in touch with the Marion strikes. Apart from its former students, Alfred Hoffmann and William Ross, who were stationed in the Southern town, Mr. Tippet and Mr. Muste of the faculty assisted the United Textile Workers to secure publicity, money, and outside aid for the workers involved.

RAND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

Extension of Training Course.—The workers' training course, the backbone of the educational work of the school, given during 1929-1930 for the fourth season, was extended to two years. Although many more applied, only 118 were accepted, of whom 97 were first-year, and 21, second-year students; 76 were young men, and 42 young women. The course aims to "train and equip young men and women, and especially such as are wage workers, for effective participation in the struggle for betterment of labor conditions and the ultimate establishment of industrial and social democracy." Scholarships are offered to organized and unorganized workers, and members of the young people's auxiliaries of the Socialist Party.

Faculty and Curriculum.—On September 1, 1929, Dr. William E. Bohn became educational director, while Algernon Lee assumed the presidency of the school. Miss Anna Ber-cowitz continued as executive secretary. Dr. Bohn has been active as a writer, lecturer and organizer in the Socialist movement for many years.

The curriculum was divided into three groups: courses in social science, with special emphasis on labor, classes in English, and popular lecture courses. Among the teachers in the first division were Algernon Lee, Louis Stanley, Marius Hansome, David Berenberg, Esther Friedman, and August Claessens. In one of a number of popular courses,

Morris Hillquit, Norman Thomas, Algernon Lee and Harry Laidler together dealt with Socialist problems and policies. The total number of students in all classes was approximately 600.

Research.—The labor research department issued the *American Labor Year Book, 1930*, and the *Index to Labor Articles*. Upon the resignation of Solon DeLeon, Nathan Fine, with the department since 1923, became director. The labor research committee consists of Harry Laidler, chairman, William E. Bohn, Paul Brissenden, Herman Kobbe, Algernon Lee, James Oneal, David Rubinow, Nellie Seeds, Louis Stanley and Norman Thomas. During the year the department was officially designated as the eastern headquarters of the research and information service of the Socialist Party. The technicians' bureau, of which Mr. Kobbe is director, was combined with the department. During the 1929 mayoralty election the director of the department cooperated closely with the Municipal Research Bureau of the party in gathering and organizing material used by Norman Thomas and other candidates.

Institutes.—A number of week-end conferences or institutes were held throughout the year. Municipal affairs, the relations of trade unionism to Socialism, the problems of youth, Socialist work with children, and related questions were discussed by specialists and students, as well as active participants in the labor and Socialist movements.

A Saturday afternoon forum, with an attendance of from 50 to 600, was run as usual during the year.

Camp Tamiment, at Forest Park, Pa., under the management of Bertha H. Mailly, with Ben Josephson and Samuel Shindler as associates, had one of its most successful years in 1929. It is one of the financial supports of the school.

COMMONWEALTH COLLEGE

Students.—Commonwealth College, Mena, Ark., opened its seventh year October 7, 1929, with a student body of trade unionists, farmers, Socialists, Communists, and I. W. W.'s. In line with its constitution adopted in 1928, to admit students who have attended at least two years to its governing body, three new members were admitted to the Commonwealth College Association, two students and one teacher. A committee of three, two teachers and one student, were authorized by the Association to supervise social conduct within the college community.

Policy and Courses.—The announcement folder for 1930 declared that an experimental attitude was the basis of the educational policy of the college:

At Commonwealth we have avoided dogmatizing in the social sciences simply by presenting without prejudice the viewpoints and programs of all labor factions. We try to give our students a thorough background for the understanding and appreciation of social forces and processes, and, at the same time, we try to develop their capacity for loyal service to the labor movement.

In addition to the regular courses in economics, labor problems, sociology, psychology, history, journalism, oral and written English, literature, law, and mathematics, a course in Power Economics was given by Dr. Zeuch. Ten advanced students are helping Dr. Zeuch in the writing of a textbook on this subject.

The quarter summer session, held for a period of eight weeks, was attended by labor leaders and rank-and-filers.

Organization.—William Edward Zeuch was reelected to his seventh term as educational director; Clay Fulks is business manager, and Irving Weissman executive secretary. Both teachers and students earn their maintenance by part-time agricultural and other labor while engaged in academic work.

During the year Director Zeuch was sent on a three-months' speaking tour of northern and eastern states in an effort to raise the funds necessary for the completion of the plant and capital equipment. At present Commonwealth is 80 per cent self-supporting. Only \$6,000 all told is needed to operate the school for one year.

WORK PEOPLE'S COLLEGE

Courses.—The Work People's College, a resident labor college established in 1904, conducts classes in both Finnish and English, although English is being used increasingly each year. Courses are given in economics, industrial history, sociology, history of the labor movement, history of I. W. W., organization methods, English language, labor journalism, commercial bookkeeping, typewriting, blue-print reading, arithmetic, and algebra.

Junior Summer School.—One hundred and fifty-three students, ranging in age from 13 to 19 years, attended during the month of July. Subjects studied included radical literature, lectures on the great social struggles and revolutions, study of the I. W. W. preamble, organization methods (with

the organization of the Junior I. W. W. in view), public speaking, Finnish language, and lectures on the Finnish labor movement.

Organization and Tuition.—The Work People's College is a corporation financed by the sale of shares that pay no interest, and by the donations of interested groups. It is controlled by the Industrial Workers of the World, although it is open to all. Charges for board, lodging, and tuition are \$39 a month. The rate during the summer was \$3 a week.

WORKERS' SCHOOL

Policy.—According to its 1929-30 catalogue, the course of studies at the Workers' School of the Communist Party of the United States, is "aimed at the training of workers in the Marxist and Leninist teachings so as to help in the development of cadres of trained revolutionaries who will be able to effectively lead the working class in the performance of its historic role to overthrow the capitalist system of society and to establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

Courses and Students.—The school reported a registration for the 1929-30 term of 2,080 students. Fifty-one courses were offered, the largest single course being Fundamentals of Communism with 13 classes. Other courses included English, public speaking, history of labor and labor problems, literature, drama, and statistical methods.

National Training School.—A three-months' full-time training course for workers from various industrial centers has been conducted for several years. Tuition and other expenses of the students were met by their respective organizations.

Other Activities.—Branches of the Workers' School have been established in Chicago, San Francisco, Detroit, Cleveland, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Boston, Kansas City, St. Paul and Minneapolis, Superior, Wisconsin, and other cities.

WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE

National.—The National Women's Trade Union League at its 1929 convention decided that the educational policy for the next three years would include, among other plans:

- 1) cooperation with women's organizations and church groups in order to bring them into actual contact with industrial subjects;

- 2) establishment of workers' classes wherever possible;
- 3) cooperation with organized labor;
- 4) education of trade union auxiliary members in such courses as economics and trade union history; and
- 5) offering of scholarships in field work training to qualified young women who shall be selected by the national committee on education and the national officers for work in those places where industrial conditions make such training possible.

The national League's major piece of work, conducted at Richmond, Va., was an educational campaign stressing the workers' needs under the new industrialism of the South.

New York.—Classes were conducted during 1929-30 in English, American industry, current events, literature, pottery, and in the Rise of American Civilization. The Saturday afternoon monthly forums were continued at the League House.

LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

Education by the Spoken Word.—During the year the League for Industrial Democracy conducted an extensive lecture program. Norman Thomas and Harry W. Laidler, directors, and Paul Porter, field secretary, spoke in 154 colleges, addressing over 50,000 students at nearly 300 meetings. At 200 non-college meetings, approximately 80,000 people were reached, exclusive of radio and campaign addresses. The regular summer conference, attended by some 480 guests, was held at Camp Tamiment, June 27-30, dealing with municipal problems.

At the regular winter conference in New York City, on the textile situation, 150 students from 29 colleges were present; at the Chicago conference on the machine and social change, 80 students from 13 colleges. A dinner conference in Washington was addressed by Mr. Thomas.

Education by the Written Word.—The League added to its series of books the report of the conference on *Socialism of our Times*. New L. I. D. pamphlets included, *Unemployment and Its Remedies*, by Harry W. Laidler; *Old Age Security* by Abraham Epstein; and *Our Exhausting Oil Resources* by Professor John Ise.

An L. I. D. monthly bulletin of activities was issued throughout the college year. Under the direction of Mr. Thomas, the semi-monthly editorial service to over a hundred labor, farm, and college papers was continued.

Administration and Organization.—In August, 1929, the League moved to 112 East 19th Street, New York City, where

its predecessor, the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, had its first headquarters. During the fall the services of Mary Fox, a Vassar graduate, were secured for the combined position of executive secretary of the League and of the New York Chapter. Membership was increased by 550 in the year.

The New York chapter conducted several Saturday noon symposiums on municipal and industrial subjects. In December, 1929, the students of the League chapters in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and other states formed an Intercollegiate Students Council to mobilize student activity on such developments as the Southern textile situation. At the close of the year the League had representatives in about 53 colleges.

Other Activities.—The Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, started and run by the League, collected over \$15,000 for the Southern and other strikers. The directors were active in political campaigns, appeared at hearings of public bodies, and served on many committees of varied scope.

SUMMER SCHOOLS FOR WOMEN WORKERS IN INDUSTRY

Organization.—The Joint Committee of Affiliated Summer Schools for Women Workers in Industry conducts the Bryn Mawr Summer School, and has affiliated with it the Barnard and Wisconsin Summer Schools. The joint committee is made up of women workers in industry, summer school students, faculty representatives of the schools, and liberal women interested in educational questions. It cooperates with labor colleges, trade unions, industrial departments of the Y. W. C. A., and others interested.

Bryn Mawr.—The ninth session of the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers opened in 1929 with a registration of 105 students from 16 states and four foreign countries. About half the students were trade union members, the largest proportion coming from the clothing and textile industries. Other occupations represented were pretzel manufacturing, radio assembling, candy dipping, manufacture of shoe polish daubers, and washing machines. Applicants fell between the 20 and 35 year age limits, and had at least three years' wage-earning experience, two of them in industry. Emphasis was placed on English, economics, psychology, science, and history. Much of the work was carried on through forum discussions, dramatic presentations, conferences, and other informal means. Special sessions were

devoted to certain industries, the problems of the unorganized, government and a labor party, the injunction, unemployment insurance, the tariff, workers' education, and imperialism. A week-end conference of the Philadelphia Women's Trade Union League was held at the school, as well as an institute on organization problems, with leaders of the labor movement present.

Barnard.—The Barnard Summer School, of Barnard College, New York City, differs from the other summer schools for women workers in that it is non-resident. The students registered in 1929 numbered 47 women, largely from the clothing industry, and mostly organized. They were divided into three groups, each studying economic history, one the international phase, a second, England, and the third, America. During the seven weeks' session, the students met with other workers in New York City to discuss the textile and coal industries, agriculture, and workers' education.

Wisconsin.—The Wisconsin Summer School conducts its six weeks' course in connection with the summer session of the University of Wisconsin. In 1929 there were 61 students (57 women and four men), recruited largely from unorganized trades. Economics and English were stressed most among the courses, although special attention was given to health questions, and problems of industrial fatigue.

Southern Summer School.—Established in 1927, the Southern Summer School for Women Workers in Industry carried on its third session at Burnsville, N. C., from July 11 to August 24, 1929. This school, unlike the other summer schools for women workers, has never been connected with any college or university, but is under the auspices of an independent committee of Southern workers and educators, the chairman of which in 1929 was Miss Mary C. Barker of Atlanta, President of the American Federation of Teachers.

Thirty-five women, between 18 and 35 years of age, with at least two years' experience in industry, constituted the student body, recruited from seven southern states. In former years almost all the students were unorganized workers; this year 16 were trade unionists, and 26 percent had been textile strikers. Courses were built around a study of the modern worker, especially in the South.

Two outstanding conferences were held: one concerned with the problems of organizing the South, attended by labor leaders and workers; another, a gathering of students of southern colleges, from whom the summer school hopes to

secure teachers for workers' classes. Trade unions have contributed generously to the support of the school, besides other organizations and individuals. Louise Leonard is director.

VINEYARD SHORE SCHOOL

Winter Work.—A further development of the summer school movement is the Vineyard Shore School, situated in West Park, New York. It opened in October, 1929, as the first winter school exclusively for women workers, under direction of Miss Hilda W. Smith, director of the Bryn Mawr Summer School. Fourteen students, selected from those who had studied at the summer schools, were enrolled for the first term. Their tuition was covered by scholarships. Courses in English, science, economics and history, correlated with art and dramatics were given.

LOCAL ACTIVITY

Pennsylvania.—Because of financial strain the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor discontinued the services of its full-time educational director on June 1, 1929. Several of the study groups disbanded as a result. For the first half of the year, under the direction of Leonard Craig, workers' study classes were conducted in Philadelphia, Reading, Scranton, Shenandoah, and WilkesBarre. Pamphlet material, especially written for the purpose, formed the basis of the class work.

Philadelphia.—Interest by local trade unions lagged during the year. It was impossible to continue a full-time director and the Labor College of Philadelphia was turned over to a committee to be run on a voluntary basis. In the early part of the year about 400 students were enrolled. The shop economics courses in the building trades, textile, and metal industries continued to be most popular; other classes included English, economics, social psychology, public speaking, and current events. Several conferences were held dealing with the textile industry, social insurance, and democracy in industry.

Baltimore.—The eighth year saw an attendance of 95 students, 80 of whom were trade unionists, at the Baltimore Labor College, which continued to be conducted by the central body. Classes were given in current economic problems, business English, public speaking, psychology, and railroad freight rates and classification. Weekly broadcasts were made over

Station WFBR. Trade union locals, by a payment of \$10. were entitled to send three students to the school, and have three members at the board of control meetings. Committees were organized on forums for locals, lectures, correspondence work, the issuance of a monthly paper, and radio programs.

MANUMIT SCHOOL

Objective.—The essential aims of Manumit School have been set forth in its own printed statement:

A world order based upon justice and cooperation, in which the individual may find freedom, is the end for which the labor movement is working; and for which certain educators, philosophers, and idealists hope. Before this goal can be attained, fundamental changes and adjustments must be made in our social and industrial life. In the reshaping of these conditions, education is one of the most potent factors. But it must be education that will truly equip men and women with the knowledge, inspiration, and power necessary to rebuild institutions and mould ideas.

The new education movement envisages this type of education,—education which will be free, experimental, bound by no worn-out traditions, limited by no fixed procedures, not preparation for life, but life itself . . .

Manumit School is based on the principle that children grow best intellectually and socially when they learn in an environment characterized by happiness, creative activity, educational understanding, and mutual service, and that such learning becomes more effective in proportion as it springs from the wholehearted purposing of the learner.

Manumit School is, however, to be distinguished from other creative activity schools in one important respect. It aims to equip individuals with the knowledge, inspiration, and power necessary to establish a social order based on a proper appreciation of labor, to interpret the new education movement to the American labor movement, and to interest it in a revaluation of child education. In other words, it aims to become a laboratory school of the American labor movement.

There are no servants at Manumit. The faculty and students share in all of the work essential to the running of the school. . . . The children soon learn the importance of being good co-operators. Cooperation is the keynote of Manumit community life.

Manumit seeks to surround its children with happy, homelike associations, and stresses all recreation which is joyous, playful and sane,—in other words truly re-creative. . . .

The children are divided into age groups under the supervision and guidance of teachers who take as nearly as possible the place of mother or father as well as of teacher. The group work where possible focuses on projects or activities aimed to concentrate and retain the interest of the child's mind. But there is a frank recognition of the existence of bodies of human knowledge which are studied in the process of attaining an academic objective.

Sixth School Year.—For 1929-1930 Manumit opened with 51 children, ranging in age from eight to 15, 29 of whose parents were trade unionists. In the summer school, conducted during July-August, 1929, 50 additional children were enrolled.

The Manumit Associates, Inc. direct the school. They are "a voluntary group of trade union men and women, of educators and cooperators in various movements for social reconstruction," and numbered 116 at the time that their sixth conference was held, June 1-2, 1929. In her report to them, Nellie M. Seeds, director, included the auditor's statement. A total income of \$41,221.91 was shown, with \$2,682.75 in excess of income over expenditures. The director's report indicated a staff of thirteen and one-half members for 1928-1929. It covered in detail the daily routine of work in the community, special projects and social and recreational activities; the graded divisions in the school work; the health record for the year; the operation of the farm; the summer school; outside contacts; and finance.

While not primarily a college preparatory institution, Manumit meets the requirements of the University of the State of New York (Regents) as well as those of the College Entrance Examination Board. The school is located on a farm of 177 acres at Pawling, New York.

PIONEER YOUTH OF AMERICA

Aims.—Pioneer Youth of America, Inc., organized in 1924, is concerned with a free time activity program of camps and clubs, primarily, though not exclusively, for the children of workers, boys and girls from nine to 18. Many nationalities, religions, and the White and Negro races were represented in the 1929 groups. Emphasis is placed not on propaganda, but on creative education and the development of a spirit of eager inquiry. The specific purposes are:

- (1) to build strong, healthy, and well-balanced bodies and minds;
- (2) to cultivate, through creative activity, power to think clearly and freely and to act courageously;
- (3) to engender a love and understanding of nature;
- (4) to acquaint them with the social and economic problems that face the world; and
- (5) to develop in them a sense of social responsibility and justice.

Camps.—Activities at the National Experimental Camp at Rifton, N. Y., conducted during the summer months, are based on the children's own interests and range from wood-

craft and nature lore to the carrying out of such projects as conducting the camp store, library, and bank; the building of a handball court, a rock garden, house in the trees, and log cabin; studying and dramatizing local social history, and other interests.

Spring and winter camps of one week each are held annually, as well as city play activities for those who cannot attend the camp at Rifton. The Baltimore and Philadelphia branches also conduct summer camps.

Clubs.—Fifteen clubs were conducted during the winter months in New York City, five in Philadelphia, and four in Baltimore. Clubs in Marion, N. C., are being formed. In carrying on the club work, one interest led to another, such as the investigation of tenement and fire laws following a fire in a club neighborhood; the conducting of a forum on the unorganized worker by members who had ushered in a theatre, driven a truck, clerked in a chain store, and served as apprentices in various trades.

Early in 1929 the first of a series of books with a social purpose for young people was published under the title *Pioneers of Freedom*, by McAlister Coleman.

Leadership and Organization.—Inter-club affairs are managed by the children themselves under the leadership of their own committee. Club leaders meet at stated times to discuss methods and club problems. On the resignation of Joshua Lieberman as executive director to teach at the Walden School, Walter Ludwig was made director.

IX. LABOR BANKING AND INSURANCE

SUMMARY

The following statement traces the trend of labor banking since June 30, 1926:

<i>Date</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Capital</i>	<i>Surplus and Undivided Profits</i>	<i>Total Deposits</i>	<i>Total Resources</i>
Dec. 31, 1926	36	\$9,055,000	\$3,806,143	\$109,624,781	\$127,357,178
June 30, 1927	33	8,155,000	3,758,863	108,539,615	124,736,112
Dec. 31, 1927	32	8,132,500	3,547,205	101,524,528	117,855,807
June 30, 1928	28	7,437,500	3,704,953	98,093,950	114,622,632
Dec. 31, 1928	27	7,487,500	3,848,718	99,058,428	116,309,226
June 29, 1929	24	7,012,500	3,822,611	93,951,926	110,537,611
Oct. 4, 1929	23	6,937,500	3,913,935	93,427,423	110,323,283

During this period the following thirteen banks passed from the control of organized labor:

<i>Name of Bank</i>	<i>Controlling Body</i>	<i>Date Passed From Control</i>	<i>Result</i>
Bro. State Bank of Kansas City	Rwy. Unions	April 1927	Advertised as labor bank; discovered to be private institution
Bro. Loc. Eng. Title & Trust Co of Phila.	B. of L. E.	June 1927	Merged with Mitten Men and Management Bank & Trust Co.
Bro. Loc. Eng. Bank & Trust Co. Birm- ingham	B. of L. E.	July 1927	Sold to private interests
First Nat'l Bank in Bakersfield, Cal.	Labor Groups	Nov. 1927	Gradually passed into con- trol of private interests by sale of stock
International Union Bank of N. Y. C.	I. L. G. W.	March 1928	Sold to private interests
Peoples Nat'l Bank of Los Angeles	Labor Groups	April 1928	Passed into hands of pri- vate interests by sale of stock
San Bernardino Val- ley Bank	Railroad Labor Groups	May 1928	Sold to private interests
United Bank & Trust Co. of Tucson, Ariz.	Labor Groups	June 1928	Sold to private interests
Labor Bank & Trust Co. of Houston	Labor Groups	Sept. 1928	Liquidated
Bro. Coop. Nat'l Bank of Spokane	B. of L. E.	Jan. 1929	Consolidated with Old Na- tional Bank of Spokane
Bro. State Bank of Hillyard	B. of L. E.	Jan. 1929	Sold to private interests
Bro. Nat'l Bank of San Francisco	B. of L. E.	Feb. 1929	Sold to the Calitalo In- vestment Corp., a pri- vate institution
Nottingham Savings & Banking Co. of Cleveland	B. of L. E.	June 1929	Sold to private interests

Current Statement of Labor Banks

<i>Name of Bank—Location</i>	<i>Capital</i>	<i>Surplus and Profits</i>	<i>Total Deposits</i>	<i>Total Resources</i>
Mt. Vernon Savings Bank, Washington, D. C.....	\$400,000	\$164,531	\$4,137,159	\$4,763,371
Engineers National Bank, Cleveland.....	1,000,000	327,382	16,247,182	19,464,106
Peoples Cooperative State Bank, Hammond.....	100,000	56,808	1,784,457	2,105,233
Engineers National Bank, Chicago.....	200,000	161,480	3,021,458	3,455,421
Amalgamated Trust & Savings Bank, Minneapolis.....	200,000	63,574	2,574,785	2,921,458
Transportation Brotherhood National Bank, New York City.....	650,000	485,997	11,059,072	12,586,343
Amalgamated Bank of New York, New York City.....	25,000	11,509	242,193	278,702
Labor National Bank of Montana, Three Forks.....	750,000	1,172,898	17,743,627	20,189,663
Federation Bank & Trust Co., ¹ New York City.....	500,000	300,627	6,540,242	8,111,961
Telegraphers National Bank, St. Louis, Mo.....	400,000	156,456	4,787,077	5,891,313
Brotherhood Railway Clerks National Bank, Cincinnati.....	112,500	26,586	916,990	1,070,953
United Labor Bank & Trust Co., Indianapolis.....	100,000	25,461	770,517	898,978
Labor National Bank, Great Falls.....	100,000	15,268	955,711	1,083,562
Farmers & Workingsmens Savings Bank, Jackson, Mich.....	500,000	78,798	2,574,256	3,532,453
Engineers National Bank, Boston, Mass.....	300,000	212,721	5,808,439	6,529,891
Labor National Bank, Paterson, N. J.....	200,000	67,749	2,196,404	2,676,005
Brotherhood Cooperative National Bank, Portland, Ore.....	250,000	160,208	3,565,601	4,017,884
Union National Bank, ² Newark, N. J.....	200,000	47,296	2,588,882	3,017,973
Brotherhood Cooperative National Bank, Tacoma, Wash.....	200,000	79,048	1,698,826	2,197,633
The American Bank, ³ Toledo, Ohio.....	250,000	41,327	745,737	1,039,487
North Coast Bank & Trust Co., Seattle, Wash.....	50,000	13,233	663,174	817,778
Gary Labor Bank, ⁴ Gary, Ind.....	50,000	53,065	593,813	721,878
Hawkins County Bank, ⁴ Rogersville.....	400,000	191,893	2,211,821	2,951,237
Labor National Bank, Jersey City.....				
Total Number of Banks—23.....	\$6,937,500	\$3,913,935	\$93,427,423	\$110,323,283

¹ Statement as of Sept. 27, 1929.² Name changed from Labor National Bank. Statement as of June 29, 1929.³ Statement as of Sept. 12, 1929.⁴ Statement as of June 29, 1928.

Union Labor Life Insurance Company.—The Union Labor Life Insurance Company had underwritten \$48,000,000 life insurance by December, 1929. \$4,000,000 of this was ordinary individual life insurance, the remaining \$44,000,000 were group policies.

Union Cooperative Insurance Association.—The Union Cooperative Insurance Association (Electrical Workers' Insurance Company) had about \$62,000,000 life insurance in force at the end of 1929.

Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society, Inc.—The Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society, Inc. reported 55 branches throughout the United States and 54,000 members. It limits the amount of insurance that any one person can carry to \$3,000, and to date has underwritten about \$60,000,000 insurance. Its assets as of December 31, 1928, were \$784,438.

Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund.—In 1928 the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund had 346 branches in 28 states with a membership of 60,337, and paid out \$230,525 in death benefits and \$600,014 in sick benefits. Three new kinds of insurance were begun during the year: juvenile insurance, sick benefits for women and supplementary death benefits. The ordinary death benefit was changed from a flat rate to a graduated rate of benefits. A "Health Library" was started.

League for Mutual Aid.—Organized in January, 1920, the League has assisted the political prisoner, radical agitator, or worker temporarily in distress to find work or tided him over with a loan without interest. For the fiscal year, ending April 30, 1929 it made 71 loans, totaling \$7,170. The League's membership is over 600.

WORKMEN'S CIRCLE

Varied Scope of Activities.—The Workmen's Circle (Arbeiter Ring) is a labor fraternity for insurance and mutual aid primarily. But its activities go considerably beyond these. It is a heavy contributor to the labor, Jewish, and Socialist movements. It conducts extensive educational work in the Yiddish language. It has women's and young circle clubs. It has a social service department.

Contributions.—At its last convention in Chicago, May, 1929, it appropriated \$65,000 for the labor press at home and abroad; for the Rand School of Social Science; for Jewish schools in Europe; for Jewish colonization work (Ort), and for hospitals and sanitariums. It contributed \$35,000 to the cloakmakers in their recent strike, besides sums to the Gastonia and Marion strikers.

Education.—It conducts 103 schools for children in the Yiddish tongue. About 7,000 pupils attend classes after regular public school hours. The students are taught to read, write and speak the Yiddish language, are given courses in the history of the labor movement, Jewish history and literature, and in the whole field of science, art and letters. Parents' associations meet in the schools to discuss progressive trends in education. To fill the lack of texts and material in Yiddish, the Workmen's Circle has published biographies of such men as Karl Marx, Ferdinand Lassalle, Booker T. Washington, Joseph Mendelsohn, etc. It also conducts a teachers' training school. For the adult members the organization arranges lectures at the meetings, and tours prominent lecturers and musicians throughout the country. It has five camps for children and grown-ups.

Women's and Youth Clubs.—By special provision the members of the women's clubs pay on the average \$5 to \$5.60 a year. Their object is to interest the wives of the members in the purposes of the fraternal order. The youth is organized into young circle clubs, divided into three groups: (1) juniors, 13-16 years; (2) intermediates, 16-18 years; and (3) seniors, 18-25 years. At the end of 1929 there were 60 clubs with about 1,000 members. The May, 1929, convention decided to accept members of these youth clubs from 16 to 25 and give them a number of benefits at the rate of \$5 a year.

Insurance and Medical Department.—It was decided at the last convention to allow every member to increase his insurance policy up to \$3,000, and carry insurance for sick benefit up to \$28 per week. Previously the maximum sick benefit paid was \$12 a week, with insurance policies up to \$1,000.

On September 30, 1929, the voluntary medical department of Greater New York had 254 branches affiliated with a membership of 18,377. It has been estimated that approximately 75,000 visits are made annually by the latter to their respective district doctors and vice versa.

A social service bureau was established in July, 1929, in New York City. Its main purpose is to facilitate contacts between members and the social agencies of the metropolis.

The Workmen's Circle was organized on September 4, 1900 under the insurance laws of New York State. Its membership at the end of the year was about 80,000 in 750 branches throughout the United States and Canada.

X. COOPERATION

Summary.—There are in this country more than 11,000 farmers' marketing associations according to reports of the U. S. Department of Agriculture; 15,000 building and loan associations, semi-cooperative in structure; 2,000 mutual insurance societies; 1,000 credit unions; 300 cooperative telephone companies, and a scattering of other unusual examples of cooperative business. This article, however, sticks almost entirely to consumers cooperative societies for distribution, housing or other services.

The vast majority of these societies are north of the Mason and Dixon line, chiefly among the farmers of the central west. Most of the larger societies, however, are in the cities and towns, some of the best known being composed of railroad men, coal miners, textile workers. In the terms of nationality the Finnish groups are by far the most progressive element and in many sections actually operate the majority of cooperative societies. Socialist and Communist groups still play a part in the general movement, though the latter have been losing strength during the past two years.

GENERAL DISTRIBUTIVE SOCIETIES

Diversity.—Many of the larger associations conduct so many various activities that they cannot be classified simply as store societies, bakery societies, etc. The largest of these is the Cooperative Trading Company of Waukegan, Ill., whose membership is now 1600 and sales in 1929 nearly \$800,000. This company operates several meat and grocery stores, a bakery and a large dairy.

Second to Waukegan is the Soo Cooperative Mercantile Association, Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, which has eight service stores, a cash and carry store, and a general bakery. It is by far the largest mercantile business in the city, with its sales in 1928 of \$645,860 and 600 members.

Consumers Cooperative Service of New York City has 3,500 members and sales of \$612,225 through its eight Cafeterias and food shops, bakery and library departments. Its net surplus on these sales was \$32,500. It also operates a credit union as a separate corporation and in 1930 is erecting its

first housing unit. The reserve fund is nearly \$140,000 more than twice as much as the capital stock.

The North Star Cooperative Company, Fairport Harbor, Ohio, reports a membership of 425 and sales in 1929 of \$480,000. It operates four general stores, a dairy, a bakery and a coal department.

The Cooperative Trading Association of Brooklyn, runs for its 2200 members, 8 grocery, meat or bakery stores, a bakery plant and a restaurant, and its 1928 sales were \$450,000.

These five societies represent a fair cross section of the progressive American movement, the first and the last being controlled chiefly by Finnish and Scandinavian industrial workers of a Socialist complexion; the second by miscellaneous consumers of all classes, nationalities and religious beliefs in the small city at the head of Lake Huron; the third being composed chiefly of professional and office workers in a great metropolitan center, and the fourth of a more conservative Finnish group on the shores of Lake Erie.

Stores.—The largest of the Societies which center all their business activities around stores is the Cloquet Cooperative Society, Cloquet, Minn., with a membership of 1300 and whose sales are \$550,000. It operates several general stores for farmers and industrial workers.

The Unica Cooperative Stores is a subsidiary of the United Workers Cooperative Association, New York City, with a membership of 2400 Jewish left wing clothing workers. There are eight different kinds of "stores" in this group, including a laundry and a restaurant; sales in 1928 were \$414,000.

The Workpeople's International Trading Co., Virginia, Minn., is another general store organization with 1,000 members, most of them Finnish farmers or miners and sales of \$375,000.

The New Cooperative Company, Dillonvale, Ohio, has 350 members, most of them Bohemian or Italian coal miners. The wreck of the miners' union in this state and the drastic reduction in wages has reduced this society from a position of leadership among American cooperatives to a place where its sales were in 1928 only \$219,000.

Bakeries.—There are ten societies engaged in the baking business exclusively and 11 others which operate bakery departments for general consumers societies. It is interesting to note that a large proportion of the biggest and most progressive organizations are those which provide bread for their members. The complete list is:

Hebrew Cooperative Bakery, Brockton, Mass.
 Workingmen's Coop. Bakery, Lynn, Mass.
 Jewish Workers Coop. Bakery, Springfield, Mass.
 Labor League Coop. Bakery, Worcester, Mass.
 United Cooperative Society (Bakery Dept.), Fitchburg, Mass.
 United Cooperative Society (Bakery Dept.), Maynard, Mass.
 Workers Cooperative Union, Lawrence, Mass.
 Coop. Bakeries of Brownsville & E. New York, Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Purity Cooperative Society, Paterson, N. J.
 Cooperative Butcher Shop (Bakery Dept.), Paterson, N. J.
 Cooperative Trading Ass'n. (Bakery Dept.), Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Consumers Cooperative Services (Bakery Dept.), New York City.
 Purity Cooperative Bakery, Syracuse, N. Y.
 Utica Cooperative Society (Bakery Dept.), Utica, N. Y.
 Woodridge Farmers Coop. Bakery, Woodridge, N. Y.
 Soo Coop. Mercantile Ass'n (Bakery Dept.), Saulte Ste. Marie, Mich.
 Cooperative Central Exchange (Bakery Dept.), Superior, Wis.
 Cooperative Trading Company (Bakery Dept.), Waukegan, Ill.
 Milwaukee Consumers Coop. Ass'n (Bakery Dept., Milwaukee, Wis.
 Cooperative Consumers League, Los Angeles, Cal.
 North Star Cooperative Co. (Bakery Dept.), Fairport Harbor, Ohio.

Largest of all is the Cooperative Bakery of Brownsville, N. Y., with 1000 members and a business in Jewish bread and rolls of \$372,000 in 1928.

The Purity Cooperative Society of Paterson, N. J., continues to hold second place among the societies engaged exclusively in baking. It is the Jewish groups alone which operate these one-department baking societies with the single exception of Lawrence, Mass., where Italians are running a little bakery society.

Restaurants and Boarding Houses.—In a list of 27, 15 are Finnish boarding houses of a more or less exclusive membership and clientele. Three are Finnish restaurants of a more general character, and three are Swedish cafeterias open to all comers. The Russians operate four restaurants in Chicago, Detroit, and Gary, Indiana, and the Jewish workers in New York two general cafeterias. The list follows:

United Cooperative Society, Maynard, Mass.	Finnish Restaurant Dept.
United Cooperative Society, Fitchburg, Mass.	Finnish Restaurant Dept.
Cooperative Boarding House, Gardner, Mass.	Finnish Boarding House
Cooperative Boarding House, Worcester, Mass.	Finnish Boarding House
Cooperative Trading Co., Quincy, Mass.	Finnish Boarding House
Consumers Cooperative Services, Inc., New York City	American Cafeteria Dept.
Finnish Coop. Trading Co., Brooklyn, N. Y.	Finnish Restaurant Dept.
United Workers Cooperative Ass'n, New York City	Jewish Cafeteria Dept.

Unity Cooperative Association, New York City	Jewish Cafeteria Dept.
Gary Workers Cooperative Ass'n, Gary, Ind.	Mixed Restaurant
Russian Workers Coop. Restaurant, Chicago, Ill.	Russian Restaurant Dept.
Cooperative Restaurant, Rockford, Ill.	Swedish Restaurant Dept.
Swedish Cooperative Society Ideal, Chicago, Ill.	Swedish Restaurant Dept.
Idrott Coop. Cafe, Chicago, Ill.	Swedish Cafeteria Dept.
Cooperative Boarding House, Conneaut, Ohio	Finnish Boarding House
Cooperative Boarding House, Fairport, Ohio	Finnish Boarding House
Cooperative Boarding House, Waukegan, Ill.	Finnish Boarding House
Workers Cooperative Club, Waukegan, Ill.	Finnish Boarding House
Workers Club, Allouez, Wis.	Finnish Boarding House
Tarmo Boarding Co., Superior, Wis.	Finnish Boarding House
Cooperative Toivo Co., Detroit, Mich.	Finnish Boarding House
Kunto Club House, Bovey, Minn.	Finnish Boarding House
Toverilla Company, Duluth, Minn.	Finnish Boarding House
Rentoal Company, Duluth, Minn.	Finnish Boarding House
Tarmo Trading Association, Eveleth, Minn.	Finnish Boarding House
Finnish Coop. Boarding Ass'n, Cleveland, Ohio	Finnish Boarding House
International Coop. Restaurant, Detroit, Mich.	Russian Restaurant Dept.
Workers Cooperative Restaurant, Detroit, Mich.	Russian Restaurant Dept.

Largest of all these organizations is Consumers Cooperative Services of New York City, already mentioned under the leading General Societies.

Milk Distribution.—Nine societies operate creameries or dairies, seven of them being chiefly of Finnish nationality. The youngest of them all is A. C. W. Service, a subsidiary of the Amalgamated Cooperative Apartments, N. Y. Largest of all is the eight-year-old Franklin Cooperative Creamery Association, Minneapolis, Minn., which also enjoys the distinction of having a larger membership and business than any other consumers' society on the two American continents. Its membership is just short of 5,000 and sales in 1928 were \$3,410,000, exclusively from milk, butter, cottage cheese and ice cream distributed by means of 170 trucks and wagons. This is the largest milk concern in the twin cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul. The second largest cooperative milk business is that conducted by the Cooperative Trading Co. of Waukegan. The full list is:

Franklin Cooperative Creamery Ass'n, Minneapolis, Minn.
 Cooperative Trading Company, Waukegan, Ill.
 Consumers Cooperative Association, Astoria, Ore.
 North Star Cooperative Company, Fairport, Ohio
 United Cooperative Society, Fitchburg, Mass.

United Cooperative Society, Maynard, Mass.
 United Cooperative Society, Gardner, Mass.
 United Cooperative Society, Norwood, Mass.
 A. C. W. Services, Inc., New York City.

Cooperative Wholesales.—The distributive movement, particularly as it is concerned with food, clothing or miscellaneous household or farm supplies, naturally heads up in a central cooperative wholesale where there is sufficient support for such a concern. The following are the four cooperative wholesales now in business in this country:

<i>Wholesales</i>	<i>Membership</i>	<i>1928 Sales</i>
Nebraska Farmers Union State Exchange, Omaha, Nebraska	6,300*	\$1,775,850
Cooperative Central Exchange, Superior, Wisconsin	77	1,518,000
Grange Cooperative Wholesale, Seattle, Washington	15	109,860
Eastern Cooperative Wholesale, New York City, N. Y.	9**	179,000**

In addition to these there is a joint buying department operated by the Central States Cooperative League for the benefit of its affiliated stores. The wholesale in Nebraska alone handles general farm supplies in addition to groceries. Both it and the Eastern Wholesale are selling coal. It will be noted that the Nebraska Wholesale has a membership of both individuals and local societies or farmers' unions. The others have local societies only as members.

Fuel.—Although coal has been an important item in the business of scores of farmers' societies for many years and is now being handled in several cities as well, it is the gas and oil cooperatives which have within three years gone far ahead of coal companies in number and importance. It is estimated that there are now 500 of these oil companies, mostly among the farmers of the north central and central states and their number is increasing at a rapid rate. The reason for this unusual development is chiefly the large savings to be effected by their membership, patronage rebates ranging from 8% to 25% of gross income from sales. Central or wholesale companies for purchasing direct from the refiners are operating in Minnesota, Nebraska, Illinois and Kansas.

SERVICE ASSOCIATIONS

Housing.—Under this general head are included cooperative apartment houses, summer camps and miscellaneous societies organized around a central real estate development.

*Membership consists of both individuals and local societies.

**At end of first nine months operation. Began business March 4, 1929.

The list of apartment houses known include none outside of New York. In that city, however, there are nine which may be called strictly cooperative and thirty which are semi-cooperative workers' housing associations. The latter are called doubtful because they do not prohibit tenant members from selling or sub-letting their apartments at a profit. The nine which are genuinely cooperative are:

Manhattan

Unity Cooperative Association
Beekman Hill Cooperative
Ass'n.
Consumers Coop. Housing
Ass'n.

Jewish National Workers
Coop. Homes Ass'n.
Farband Cooperative Homes,
Inc.

Bronx

United Workers Cooperative
Ass'n.
Amalgamated Cooperative
Apts.

Queens

Sunnyside First Cooperative
Housing Ass'n.
Sunnyside Second Cooperative
Housing Ass'n.

Largest of all is the United Workers' Cooperative Colony with houses covering two entire blocks on the edge of Bronx Park, providing apartments for 700 families. This association, however, has been in financial difficulties in 1928 and 1929. Largest of the soundly organized and financed houses is that known as the Amalgamated Cooperative Apartments with nearly two blocks of buildings housing 503 families on the edge of Van Cortlandt Park, houses and land valued at \$2,632,500. In 1929 the income from rents and interest was \$157,450 and from its grocery stores and miscellaneous activities 185,928, making a total income of \$343,378. The net gain was \$2,794. The Jewish National Workers' Cooperative Houses and the Farband Cooperative Homes each have upward of 100 apartments. The Unity Cooperative Association is organized with small non-housekeeping one and two room apartments occupied by single people or childless couples. The membership of all five of these is chiefly Jewish. The first two have cooperative stores and other services in connection and the first and fifth operate restaurants.

The United Workers and the Unity Housing groups both operate summer camps, the largest and oldest being that of the United, known as Camp Nitgedaiget. Other groups of Jewish workers in Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago and elsewhere have now organized similar camps. These usually prove highly successful financially and are exceedingly popular. Camp Nitgedaiget has as many as 12,000 campers in the course of a single season and net profits of \$40,000.

Cooperative Automobile Services, Brooklyn, N. Y., is the only cooperative garage association in the country, having a membership of 55 car owners and provision for storage of

175 cars. Service is supplied the members, and gasoline, oil and other supplies is sold.

Public Utilities.—Cooperative telephone companies number about 300 in the United States but in Canada there are more than 1,550 such societies. In a few of the western states there are likewise cooperatives for distributing waterpower and electric current.

Insurance.—Of the large number of cooperative or mutual insurance companies in the country, only a very few are closely allied with the cooperative consumers' movement. The New Era Life Association, Grand Rapids, Michigan, is the only one of these in the life insurance class which definitely strives to operate under cooperative rules. The association in 1929 was adopted as the official life company for the consumers' movement of Canada. It has for three years been an active affiliated member of The Cooperative League of the U. S. A.

The Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society, with a membership of 55,000, is likewise affiliated with The Cooperative League, is strictly cooperative in form and spirit and is now attempting to effect reorganization which will permit it to write insurance on buildings as well as furniture alone.

Credit Unions.—The large majority of these miniature banking organizations have no active interest in the consumers' cooperative movement, but there are outstanding exceptions. The credit for the expansion of this movement throughout the country belongs chiefly to the National Credit Union Extension Bureau financed by Edward A. Filene and administered by Roy F. Bergengren, its executive secretary. Due largely to its activities, credit union laws have been enacted in 30 states.

COOPERATIVE LEAGUE

National.—At the beginning of 1929 the Cooperative League of the U. S. A. had a membership of 140 societies whose individual membership was 121,500 shareholders. In addition to these, there were 10 fraternal memberships and 832 individual members directly affiliated with the League but without voting privileges. The annual board meeting took place in Cleveland in October 1929 at which all former officers were reelected, Dr. Warbasse for his 12th term as president and Cedric Long for his seventh term as secretary. Five delegates were elected to attend the 1930 Congress of the

International Cooperative Alliance to be held in August at Vienna. The 7th Congress of The Cooperative League was set for October, 1930, at Superior, Wisconsin. The directors approved in principle the proposal for organizing a national cooperative wholesale society to unify the activities of the four district wholesales and authorized the calling of a special wholesale conference for this purpose at the time of the 1930 Congress. They also passed unanimously a resolution approving in principle a statement to the effect that cooperative stores should not have contractual relations with chains of independent private stores.

The Correspondence School of The League at the close of 1929 has a registration of 34 students, eight more having already completed the courses for which they enrolled.

The first annual Year Book of The Cooperative League of the U. S. A. was published in January, 1930.

The magazine *Cooperation*, organ of the national movement, increased its circulation by 20% during the year and built up a staff of contributing editors composed of ten of the directors.

The Accounting Bureau enlarged its income by 70% and the number of its accounts from 26 in 1928 to 36 in 1929.

District Leagues.—The Northern States Cooperative League, which includes in its membership the strong Cooperative Central Exchange, reports a membership of 88 societies at the close of 1929, whose individual members number 50,000. At the annual convention in July H. I. Nordby was reelected president, Gideon Edberg recording secretary, V. S. Alanne executive secretary and Joseph Flor treasurer. Two training schools were conducted in the autumn of 1929, one at Minneapolis in English with 31 students in attendance, and one at Superior, chiefly in Finnish, with 30 students enrolled. This League during 1929 organized an auditing department and employed a full time field man to do organizing work among the societies. A very successful district conference for societies in Central Wisconsin which are not members of the League was held during the summer. The Northern States Year Book has been merged with the Year Book of the National League.

The Eastern States Cooperative League, at the close of 1929, reported a membership of 27 societies whose individual shareholders number 16,000. At the annual convention in April Mary E. Arnold of New York was elected President, and Cedric Long and W. Niemela reelected as secretary and treasurer respectively. During the summer a one-week

Cooperative Institute was held on the grounds of Brookwood Labor College with 22 in attendance. The Eastern Cooperative Wholesale, organized by this League, several of whose directors are also League directors, started under a full time manager on March 4th. A quarterly newspaper known as *Cooperative News*, for general distribution, to take the place of the former monthly *Eastern Cooperator*, made its first appearance in April published in large format. Week-end educational conferences for the societies of Greater New York were conducted in February and August, the first in Brooklyn and the second at Katonah. The first conference of young people of the New York societies was held on November 17th, and plans were worked out for social and educational work among the cooperative youth during the Winter.

The Central States Cooperative League reports a membership of 14 societies whose individual membership is about 4,000. Its third annual convention was held in Bloomington for two days in May. Dr. G. L. Kennedy of Villa Grove and A. W. Warinner of Bloomington, were reelected as president and educational secretary respectively. A. B. Zombro and J. C. Allen, both of Bloomington, were elected recording secretary and treasurer respectively. In addition to the monthly paper, the *Central States Cooperator*, for the general membership, a monthly technical paper for directors and employees made its first appearance in September. This League continues to find its printing plant a great asset. Its death benefit society, the Mutual Aid Guild, continues with a membership of approximately 500. A permanent educational committee and a permanent joint buying committee were both organized at the 1929 convention. The former has made plans for a cooperative Institute to be held in July, 1930 at a Park between Chicago and Waukegan.

The Pacific Coast Cooperative Committee, organized at the close of 1928, carried on quiet organizing work during 1929 and in January, 1930, held a convention at which the Pacific Coast Cooperative League was definitely organized, its membership composed chiefly of Finnish societies in Oregon and Southern Washington.

XI. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF LABOR

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

Membership Growing.—On January 1, 1929, the membership of the affiliated bodies of the International Federation of Trade Unions (frequently referred to as the Amsterdam International, from the location of its headquarters) was 13,525,263, according to provisional figures, against 13,144,225 a year before:

Membership of the International Federation of Trade Unions

<i>Country</i>	<i>Jan. 1 1929</i>	<i>Jan. 1 1928</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Jan. 1 1929</i>	<i>Jan. 1 1928</i>
Argentina	82,574	82,574	Hungary	124,378	127,422
Austria	766,168	772,762	Latvia	21,888	18,732
Belgium	518,658	530,575	Luxemburg	15,377	14,179
Bulgaria	2,650	2,485	Memel	1,064	1,024
Canada	144,000	140,195	Palestine	21,302	21,873
Czechoslovakia..	558,608	541,637	Rumania	26,783	.....
Denmark	155,978	156,425	South Africa ..	40,000	60,660
Estonia	5,506	5,071	S. W. Africa...	500	600
France	638,326	605,250	Spain	221,000	.....
Germany	5,237,574	4,810,490	Sweden	469,409	437,974
Great Britain ..	3,673,144	3,874,842	Switzerland ...	173,000	165,692
Greece	98,470	Not affil.	Yugoslavia	36,044	33,217
Holland	220,545	202,696			

The substantial gains in membership during 1929 in Denmark, Germany, Holland and Sweden more than offset losses due to the splitting of the Greek Federation of Labor in January, 1929, the loss of the Lithuanian body in 1928—with the resignation of Dictator Voldemaras last September it is expected to revive—and the virtual throttling of the Yugoslav unions by the king's dictatorship.

Meetings of Council and Executive.—The next congress will open in Stockholm on July 7, 1930, with the main points of the agenda fixed as social reform, disarmament, the trade union movement in countries under dictatorships, and the international's general program. The increasing work of the organization necessitated the appointment of Walter Schevenels, of the Belgian Metal Workers' Union, as assistant secretary.

A conference of labor leaders from Belgium, France, Germany and Luxemburg and Secretary Johann Sassenbach in September, followed by another on November 18, considered the difficult situation created by the wholesale importation of foreign workers in Luxemburg, and prepared plans for an organizing drive in the industrially important, although tiny, Grandduchy. The executive went on record to assist financially the unions of Bulgaria, Greece and Finland, and to publish a propaganda bulletin for distribution in Egypt. Inasmuch as neither the Pan-American Federation of Labor nor the American Federation of Labor had officially presented Matthew Woll's suggestion that the world of organized labor be divided between the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Pan-American Federation of Labor, with a possible loose alliance between the two, it was not acted upon. It was pointed out, however, that unionism was based on the principle of universality and was incompatible with any such arrangement. It was also questioned whether the American Federation of Labor could put the idea into effect in the Western Hemisphere. President Walter Citrine and Secretary Sassenbach were thanked for their trip of investigation to Italy, and their report which confirmed the fact of absolute repression of genuine unionism by the Fascist dictatorship. The bureau issued a detailed program of its economic policy covering practically every national and international industrial question and stressing the necessity of extending social legislation, and public ownership and control of monopolies. The executive called upon the Preparatory Disarmament Commission of the League of Nations to speed up its work and do something tangible toward lifting the burden of armaments from the workers' backs and ending the danger of war.

Women's Committee.—At its meeting in Amsterdam, October 1-2, 1929, the problem of married women in industry was discussed. It was decided not to attack the principle of equal opportunity for such women, but that in cases of extensive unemployment the unions should give preference to those most in need. The executive of the international was requested to call an international women's trade union conference in connection with the Stockholm congress.

Trade Secretariats.—Comparatively few of the 27 international trade secretariats linked with the Amsterdam International held conventions in 1929. The Wood Workers celebrated their twenty-fifth anniversary in Heidelberg, July 25-28. They ordered the furniture workers of Great Britain, the

building workers of Norway and woodworkers of Finland to sever the reciprocal agreements they had made with the corresponding unions in Russia, and elected Fritz Tarnow international secretary, succeeding C. Woudenberg, who had become secretary of the Social Democratic Party of Holland. The congress of the Factory Workers, held in Hanover in July, decided to continue negotiations, looking to amalgamation with the Glass Workers and Potters. The Teachers, at their congress in Brussels in August, likewise started a move for a cartel embracing teachers, public service employes, civil servants and postal workers. The Shoe Workers, at their meet in Stockholm, August 14-17, overwhelmingly rejected the Finnish resolution for amalgamation with the Russian union. The Bookbinders, meeting in Amsterdam, July 15-18, reaffirmed their stand for equal pay for equal work for women, but urged strict separation of women's work from men's, as well as preference for persons supporting families.

Although the American Federation of Labor is not affiliated with the Amsterdam International, about a dozen of its international unions are attached to the trade secretariats.

RED INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR UNIONS

Membership.—The membership of the unions affiliated with the Red International of Labor Unions, with headquarters in Moscow, is hard to ascertain because in many countries they are outlawed and exist underground. Of those legalized, the overwhelming bulk are in Soviet Russia, 11,000,000, about 500,000 in France, and 65,000 in Czechoslovakia. The smashing of the All-China Federation of Labor by the Nationalist government, and the anti-Communist warfare waged by the governments of Greece, Japan, Poland, Yugoslavia, and a number of others, reduced the membership of the Red International of Labor Unions considerably.

Ibero-American Federation Organized.—The Latin-American Trade Union Confederation was founded at a convention held in Montevideo, Uruguay, in May, attended by representatives of the Red International of Labor Unions and the Trade Union Educational League of the United States, besides delegates from Mexico, Argentina, Ecuador, Brazil, Paraguay, Bolivia, Cuba, Colombia, Venezuela, Uruguay, and some other Latin countries. It declared war upon British and especially American imperialism. It considered plans for building a class-conscious labor movement in relatively virgin fields. The American delegates were William Simons

and Isaiah Hawkins. The executive committee later called upon the workers to struggle against unemployment and to hold monster demonstrations on March 30, 1930.

Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat.—The second conference was held in Vladivostok, in August, 1929, with delegates from Communist-controlled unions in China, Japan, Mongolia, Great Britain, the United States, Indonesia, the Philippines, Soviet Russia and France. Three representatives from Australia arrived too late for the conference, but expressed their approval of its resolutions which dealt with Far Eastern problems from a left wing viewpoint. A Losovsky, the secretary of the Red International, attended, Tyn Yu-lin of China was chairman, and Earl Browder of United States was secretary.

Fifth Congress.—The executive at its meeting in December discussed the agenda of the fifth congress, to open on July 15, 1930, in Moscow.

PAN-AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Convention Postponed.—The executive decided on October 29 to postpone the convention originally called for January 6, 1930, in Havana. It gave as reasons the necessity for the American Federation of Labor to concentrate on organization work in the South and the need of its affiliates to raise money to send adequate delegations. The Pan-American Federation of Labor has 21 unions in 15 countries and is in correspondence with about 200 local groups in others. Most of the membership belongs to the two federations of United States and Mexico. Santiago Iglesias is secretary.

CHRISTIAN TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL

Membership Increasing.—The general revival of trade unionism in 1928 and 1929 was also reflected in gains by most of the organizations affiliated with the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions. Its membership was estimated as having risen to over 2,000,000. At congresses of its affiliated trade secretariats, Salaried Employees, with 598,500 members, Textile Workers, with 201,859 members, as well as the Wood and Tobacco Workers, resolutions were adopted demanding advanced social legislation, cooperation with the International Labor Organization, and protection of the workers' needs such as those generally passed by right wing labor organizations.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Twelfth and Thirteenth Conferences.—The June Conference adopted a draft convention calling for the marking of the weight on heavy packages transported in ships, and protection against accidents of workers employed in loading or unloading vessels. The October Conference—the thirteenth—decided on a questionnaire to the governments, to secure data and opinions for a convention on sailors' hours, conditions, and insurance. Shipowners and governments had successfully prevented the adoption of a convention covering protection of seamen since the first Washington, 1919, Conference. The usual opposition of labor's delegates to the seating of the delegates from the Italian Fascist unions was prevailing.

At the end of 1929 Director Albert Thomas reported that there had been 377 ratifications by 34 nations of some of the 9 draft conventions. Many are, however, mere gestures, not followed by effective legislation. Upon a request of E. A. Filene, backed by a contribution of \$25,000, the International Labor Office started an investigation of the comparative wages and cost of living in 17 European cities where Henry Ford had or planned to have plants. The move was not made without considerable objections from European employers.

LABOR AND SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

Acts Against Dictatorships.—Through its executive and various sub-committees, as well as its affiliated parties, the Socialist International exerted every effort in 1929 toward curbing, or halting, dictatorships in several countries. When Marshal Pilsudski threatened to create a real dictatorship in Poland the International took the lead in aiding the Polish Socialists, and in bringing about pressure from London, Paris and other capitals. The execution of several Socialist youths was stayed in Lithuania, and the fall of Dictator Voldemaras accomplished partly by protests from London and elsewhere. The Austrian Socialists were fortified in every way in their fairly successful repulse of a Clerical dictatorship. In other less notable instances the hand of the Socialist International was felt behind national struggles for peace, democracy, and world friendship. The Socialist International was greatly aided by the British Labor Government, the fact that the German Socialists nominated the Chancellor and were in the

cabinet, that Denmark had a Socialist government, and that the Labor and Socialist parties were a force in most European countries.

Sino-Russian Clash.—At its meeting in July the executive urged the Chinese and Russian governments to settle their dispute peacefully and called upon Socialists everywhere "to use their influence on the governments and public opinion to make war impossible, and in case of acute danger of war to prevent the production and transport of munitions to the countries concerned." The executive also pointed out:

The rulers of Manchuria have taken advantage of the conflict with the Soviet Union to dissolve the trade unions and to deprive the workers of the right to strike. Although it does not fail to recognize that the Soviet Union itself has provided the pretext for this persecution of the working class by misusing the labor organizations on Chinese soil as instruments of Russian policy, the International nevertheless protests against this persecution of labor organizations in Manchuria, and declares that the Chinese government is in danger of losing the active sympathy of the working class of the world in its struggle for the unlimited national sovereignty of China if it disgraces this struggle by persecuting labor organizations and destroying the elementary rights of the working class.

In the November meeting of the bureau, a resolution was adopted protesting against the "mass executions which have recently been taking place to an extent unknown since 1919" in Soviet Russia, and urging the Communist government to abolish terrorism and guarantee the right of self-determination to the working people of the land.

The Socialist International welcomed the initiative taken by the British Labor Government in naval disarmament and compulsory arbitration, and reiterated its demands for the evacuation of the Rhineland and the ending of the exceptional regime in the Sarre Basin. It once more insisted on tangible results from the Preparatory Disarmament Commission of the League of Nations.

Socialist Youth International.—Preceded by an international socialist youth rally, attended by about 50,000, the third congress, with 250 delegates, was held in Vienna, July 16-18. Secretary Erich Ollenhauer reported a membership of 320,718 on January 1, 1929, a gain of about 30,000 since the 1926 congress. Resolutions were adopted looking to closer cooperation with the Amsterdam and Socialist Internationals for protection of young workers, and in the fight against militarism. International youth days were celebrated in September and October in the various countries by great rallies.

Officials.—With the resignation of Arthur Henderson as president, to become Foreign Minister of Great Britain, Emile Vandervelde of Belgium became chairman. Together with Joseph van Roosbroeck, treasurer, Friedrich Adler, secretary, and Robert Grimm of Switzerland, they constitute the administrative committee. The bureau is constituted as follows: Abramovitch (Russia), Bauer (Austria), Bracke (France), Cramp (Great Britain), Modigliani (Italy), Moeller (Sweden), Vandervelde (Belgium), Vliegen (Holland), and Wels (Germany). Adelheid Popp and Karl Heinz represent the Women's Committee and the Youth International on the executive.

COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Membership.—Due to the illegal status of the Communist movement in many countries, the existence of "left" and "right" groups, and the lack of official data, the membership of most of the sections and the Communist International is very hard to fix. The overwhelming proportion of the supporters of the Communist International is found in the Soviet Union. Secretary Kuusinen reported to the July Plenum of the executive committee a membership of 1,684,212, on the basis of dues payments in 1928.

July Plenum.—The enlarged executive meeting of July, 1929, devoted itself to attacking the "right danger," and purging the International of "right wingers." It removed Bukharin of the Soviet Union, Gitlow of United States, Serra of Italy, and Humbert-Droz of Switzerland from the Presidium, and excluded Lovestone of United States, Jilek of Czechoslovakia and Spector of Canada from the executive. John Pepper (Joseph Pogany) who had played an important role in the Communist movement in the United States, was expelled in September. Randolph of the United States was elected to the Presidium, as were Gussef of the Soviet Union, Gottwald of Czechoslovakia, and Garlandi of Italy.

Executive Committee.—With the year 1929 filled with political and economic events of more than usual importance the executive committee participated actively in all of them; issued statements for guidance of the sections, and called conferences to lay plans for action by them. March 4th was celebrated in the Soviet capital and elsewhere as the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Communist International. One of the most powerful demonstrations of Communists in a decade was that on August 1, anti-war day, with the governments using troops and police to suppress them.

West European Bureau.—Communist leaders from 13 European countries, including representatives from the Red International of Labor Unions and the Young Communist International, met in Brussels on May 16, 1929, and arranged the details for the demonstrations on August 1. On September 17-18, these leaders, constituting the West European Bureau, met again in Constance, Switzerland, to assist the Austrian and Yugoslav Communists in their struggles against Fascism and the Social Democrats, whom they classified as "social fascists," and "loyal allies of the capitalists."

Young Communists.—November 20th was celebrated as the tenth birthday of the Young Communist International. An international Communist children's congress was held in Moscow in August, attended by 236 delegates from Young Pioneer organizations throughout the world.

SOCIALIST LABOR SPORT INTERNATIONAL

Fifth Congress.—At the fifth congress of the Socialist Labor Sport International, held in Prague, October, 1929, with 79 delegates from 10 countries, the following resolution was carried:

The congress declares that, under the lying device of the "united front," the Communists have split the workers' sport movement in all countries. But the congress states, with satisfaction, that the Socialist comrades have opposed these criminal efforts with all their power and have expelled the splitters from their organizations. While stating these facts the congress decides that the organizations of the Socialist Labor Sport International can have no relations with the organizations of the Red Sport International.

It was decided to hold the second Labor Sport Olympiad in Vienna, in July, 1931. A special commission of six women was created to help develop athletics among working women. The Presidium elected consists of Gellert (Germany), Deutsch (Austria), Bridoux (France), Loewe (German-Czechoslovakia) and Humlhaus (Czechoslovakia). A membership of about 1,700,000 in 18 countries was reported.

LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

Frankfort Congress.—The second congress was held in Frankfort-on-the-Main in July, 1929, with about 400 delegates representing 124 organizations in 33 countries. Zionism was condemned as supporting "British imperialism against the Arab people." A temporary committee of Negro workers was elected, which, in December, invited "all proletarian or-

ganizations of Negro workers, trade unions, factory, shop groups and committees and all sympathizing organizations of all nationalities to send their fraternal delegates" to an international trade union conference of Negro workers to be held in London, July 1, 1930. In September James Maxton, chairman of the Independent Labor Party, was expelled from the British section of the Anti-Imperialist League for refusing to obey instructions to wage an active campaign against the policy of the British Labor Government in Palestine, Egypt and India. Among the 26 members of the Political Commission elected at Frankfort were Willy Muenzenberg of Germany, Melnitchansky of Soviet Russia, Bishop Fan Noli of Albania, Sen Katayama of Japan and Ford of United States.

INTERNATIONAL ANTI-FASCIST BUREAU

Organization Congress.—On March 9-10, 1929, an International Anti-Fascist Bureau was founded at a congress in Berlin of about 250 representatives of anti-Fascist groups in some 20 countries. Henry Barbusse, the French Communist writer, was made president. Bishop Fan Noli, of Albania, Count Michael Karolyi of Hungary, and Willy Muenzenberg and Fritz Heckert of Germany were prominent delegates. National commissions were decided on to fight the Fascist danger in a number of countries. The Socialists and the Amsterdam International were called allies of Fascism by several speakers.

INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR SINGERS

Strength.—With the affiliation of Norway, the International of Labor Singers reported more than 300,000 members in 1929. The organization was founded in 1926. It has 14 national sections, but about five-sixths of the membership is in Germany. Karl Fehsel is president. The American section is the League of Workers' Singing Societies of North America.



XII. LABOR ABROAD

Labor, Socialist, and Communist Representation in Lower Houses of Parliament, 1929

<i>Country</i>	<i>Labor</i>	<i>Socialist</i>	<i>Communist*</i>	<i>Total Seats in House</i>
Argentina	...	10	...	158
Australia	46	...	...	75
Austria	...	71	...	165
Belgium	...	70	1	187
Bolivia	...	1	...	78
Bulgaria	...	10	3	273
Canada	4	...	...	245
Chile	2	...	8	132
Czechoslovakia	...	60	30	300
Denmark	...	61	...	149
Estonia	...	25	6	100
Finland	...	59	23	200
France	...	101	12	606
Germany	...	153	54	491
Great Britain	289	...	...	615
Holland	...	24	2	100
Hungary	...	14	...	245
Ireland	13	...	...	153
Latvia	...	26	6	100
Luxemburg	...	12	...	52
Japan	7	...	...	466
New Zealand	19	...	...	80
Norway	60	...	2	150
Panama	1	...	...	46
Poland	...	56	7	444
Roumania	...	9	...	387
Sweden	...	90	8	230
Switzerland	...	50	2	198
South Africa	8	...	...	148
Uruguay	...	1	1	123

ARGENTINA

Federations of Labor.—Of the three federations, the Confederacion Obrera Argentina, founded in 1926 and affiliated with the Amsterdam International, is the most significant. On January 1, 1929, it counted 82,574 members. On the same date the semi-communist Union Sindical Argentina claimed 19,680. It voted 13,000 to 4,000 against participating in the Montevideo organizing conference of the Latin American Trade Union Confederation, and dissolved the Cordoba

* In Bulgaria, Estonia, Finland, Latvia, and Poland the Communists operate through a Labor or a Workers' and Peasants' Party. Countries not listed, where Socialists or Communists had representation, are mostly dictatorships lacking political oppositions.

central council because it sent delegates to it. The old Federacion Obrera Regional de Argentina, under anarcho-communist domination, engineered several strikes in Rosario and elsewhere in 1929. Internecine strife characterized the communist controlled organizations.

Two Socialist Parties.—The regular Socialist Party, affiliated with the Labor and Socialist International at Zurich, with two deputies and one senator, met in convention at Buenos Aires, October 10-13, 1929. The report of the executive stressed a material advance in the activities of Socialist women. A plank of the new platform for the 1930 elections calls for woman suffrage. The Independent Socialist Party, with a more reformist program and eight deputies, was refused admission to the Zurich International. Emil Vandervelde visited Argentina in the Spring and following his report to the executive of the Labor and Socialist International, the latter appealed to the Argentina socialists to unite their forces.

Three Communist Parties.—The Communist political movement continued to be divided into three small groups, one of which, with an estimated membership of 2,000, is affiliated with the Communist International.

AUSTRALIA

Miners Fight Wage-Cuts.—The year ended with the coal miners of New South Wales in a desperate struggle against an attempt by the anti-labor government of the state to force them to accept a wage-cut. The Rothbury colliery, near Sydney, was the scene of battles between police and pickets in which strikers were killed. The miners' leaders had agreed with the owners to the reduction, but the men repudiated the settlement and sought to extend the conflict, thus making it a national issue and within the jurisdiction of federal arbitration. A strike of timber workers for the 44-hour week, without wage reductions, lasted several months and led to a compromise in June. In October many of the strikers were unemployed, as the employers refused to discharge all strike-breakers. Violent demonstrations against Italian immigrants occurred in several cities, following their taking strikers' jobs on the Adelaide docks. The port authorities then ordered the employment only of those able to speak English.

Labor Obtains Majority in Parliament.—At the elections on October 12, 1929, the Labor Party returned 46 of the 75

members of the lower house. The former premier, Stanley Bruce, forced the issue on the question of abolishing the federal system of arbitration, and decentralizing it to the states. There was no poll for the senate, where labor has only seven out of 36 seats. The Governor-General, Lord Stonehaven, asked James Henry Scullin to form a government. His cabinet follows:

Prime Minister, External Affairs, and Industry	J. H. Scullin
Treasurer	Ed. G. Theodore
Attorney-General	Frank Brennan
Postmaster General, Works, and Railways	Jos. A. Lyons
Minister of Health and Repatriation	Frank Anstey
Minister for Defense	Al. El. Green
Minister for Trade and Customs	J. E. Fenton
Minister for Home Affairs	A. Blakeley
Minister for Markets and Transport	J. P. Maloney
Assistant Minister for Works and Railways	John J. Daly
Vice-president of the Executive Council	John Barnes
Assistant Minister for Customs	F. M. Forde
Assistant Minister for Industry	J. A. Beasley

Premier Scullin announced on October 31 the suspension of compulsory military training. He agreed on November 10 to the resumption of relations between Great Britain and Soviet Russia, but asked that the mutual pledges against carrying on hostile propaganda cover Australia also.

While the Labor Party lost Queensland in 1929, after a rule of 14 years, it regained temporary control of Victoria on December 11.

Communist Party.—Despite its smallness in numbers the party was quite active in industrial agitation. It did not play an important part in the 1929 elections, having been practically outlawed by the Bruce government. The Sydney Trades Council is affiliated with the Red International of Labor Unions. The Australasian Council of Trade Unions is also affiliated with the Communist Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat.

AUSTRIA

Unemployment.—The number of workers receiving unemployment benefits ranged from 264,148 in February, to 101,845 in August and 193,000 in December. The Amsterdam center reported 766,168 members on January 1, 1929, against 772,762 a year previous, while the Christian federation claimed more than 100,000, at its congress June 30-July 1.

Socialists Forced to Make Concessions on Constitution.—The struggle over the "reform" of the Constitution of 1920—changed by a two-thirds majority of the National Assembly—

was waged with especial fury in 1929 both in parliament and on the streets. The Heimwehr, a semi-military body, said to number 400,000, was arrayed against the Schutzbund, the socialist defense guard, perhaps larger than the Heimwehr, but not so well supplied with arms. The little Austrian regular army and the local police forces managed to keep the contenders from pitched battles, although much blood was shed in a number of clashes. The Heimwehr chiefs talked loudly of a march on Vienna to enforce their demands for constitutional changes which would make the president a dictator and subject the Socialist-governed city of Vienna to the absolute control of the bourgeois-clerical national government. The workers' leaders answered that they would defend the Constitution on the barricades, if necessary.

Chancellor Ignatz Seipel, the brains of the Heimwehr, resigned on April 3. He was succeeded on April 26 by Ernest Steierwitz, who gave way on September 25 to Johann Schober, chief of police of Vienna. Some of the Clericals, meanwhile, led by Leopold Kunschak, publicly announced their disapproval of the tactics of the Fascists. The Socialist International, leaders of the Republican and Socialist defense corps in Germany, Czechoslovakia, Finland and Latvia, Foreign Secretary Arthur Henderson of the British Labor Government, and Emil Vandervelde, issued statements and personally intervened on behalf of the Austrian Socialists. On October 8 the convention of the Austrian Social Democratic Party declared it was willing to discuss modifications of the constitution. Ten days later Chancellor Schober introduced a bill embodying the Heimwehr program. On November 24, at a special conference of the Socialists, Robert Danneberg's compromise proposals were unanimously approved. In the final voting on December 7, the Socialists killed 16 of the worst features of the bill, but adopted changes raising the voting age from 20 to 21 and making the president an official elected by compulsory popular vote for six years, instead of by parliament for four as at present. They gave him the right to nominate the members of the cabinet, to dissolve parliament for new elections—with the consent of the legislative body, and to issue emergency laws, in concord with a parliamentary committee, when the National Assembly is not in session, such emergency decrees not to change the constitution, however, or to impose financial burdens, or to limit the rights of the workers, or the protection of tenants. They allowed the federal auditing of the accounts of the city and province of Vienna, gave increased powers to the federal police, limited provincial control of education, but

stipulated that changes in the relations between the schools and the church could only be altered with the consent of the provinces concerned. The Heimwehr and fascist chiefs protested against these constitutional changes, but the year closed without any further violent demonstrations. The urgent need of a foreign loan compelled the big business and clerical reactionaries to hold their peace.

The Social Democratic Party reported a membership of 730,834 on January 1, 1929, a gain of 44,248 over 1928. Every fourth adult man and every tenth woman is a Socialist member in Austria. Notable gains were made in elections, especially in Upper and Lower Austria. At the end of the year there were about 400 Socialist mayors, under whom lived half of the country's population. The Labor Sports League, with 200,000 members, introduced an aviation division, with about 500 young men taking lessons. While continuing its extended program of municipal housing and working class legislation, the party was compelled to allow the passing of a law by the National Assembly on June 14, 1929, 24 percent the year following, and 27 percent in 1931. Socialist influence over the regular army was generally diminished through the work of Karl Vaugoin, the Clerical Minister of Defense, and at the election of soldiers' trustees on October 16, only 3,334 voted for Socialist candidates, against 13,000 for the Clerical list.

Numerous Communist Arrests.—The Communist Party, which has about 2,500 members, managed to stage a number of anti-Fascist and anti-Socialist demonstrations. Many of its leaders and followers were arrested. In the local elections in Lower Austria in November the party lost nearly all of the few seats it had. At the convention in February, the "right wing" was decisively defeated and excluded from the new central committee.

BELGIUM

Unions.—The teachers' union severed relations with the Paris International, being opposed to the latter's left-wing-communist attitude. The Amsterdam federation took steps to protect Italian workers in Belgium from persecution by pro-Fascist employers. At the end of the year some 30,000 diamond employees were put on half-time, due to a shrinkage in demand, and the transfer of many cutting-shops to South Africa.

Socialists Suffer Defeat at Polls.—The general election of May 26, 1929, reduced Socialist representation from 78 to 70; the vote fell from 820,160 in 1925 to 817,622. The Communists lost one of their two seats. Efforts of the Socialists to campaign on real issues were handicapped by the opposition of those against the law restricting the sale of "hard liquor," put through when Emil Vandervelde was premier, and which the party stood for. A tacit agreement between Liberals and Catholics also hurt the Labor Party. Miss Lucie Dejardin, founder of the League of Women Socialists in 1911, was elected as the first woman member of the Chamber. She is one of some 9,000 women enfranchised because of their hardships or services during the war. The party's position against woman suffrage—fear of the clergy's influence—is being challenged by the Socialist women, who ordered a referendum at their own congress in October.

Participation by the Socialists in a coalition government was made difficult by the special congress held early in November, which declared against any increases in the state subsidies to schools under church control and for their eventual abolition, and that no Socialist should enter the cabinet until after a new election. Premier Henri Jasper turned in vain to the party chiefs when the Flemish language question in the Ghent University threatened a crisis. The Socialists suffered a severe blow in the death of Joseph Wauters on June 30. He was former Minister of Labor, a veteran agitator and journalist. His funeral was one of the greatest demonstrations of popular grief in the kingdom.

Communist Party Gain.—The communists polled 10,000 more votes in the May elections, than in 1925 when they received 34,000, although their factional fighting cost them a deputy, and reduced their membership.

BOLIVIA

Strikes Suppressed.—During the last few years there have been several strikes on the railroads and in the tin mines, which the government has generally branded as rebellions and has put down by troops. It justified its severity by labeling the strike leaders communists. At a conference in Potosi in January, 1929, representatives of the Bolivian Federation of Labor protested against the impending war with Paraguay. There is no regular labor political body, although one of the 78 members in the Chamber is listed as a Socialist.

BRAZIL

Union Strength.—An estimate in 1929 put the total number of unionized workers at about 116,500, divided as follows: bona fide unionists, 14,000; neutrals or semi-state controlled, 96,000; communist-controlled, 3,500; anarcho-syndicalists, 3,000. In November the police disbanded five locals. The effort to create a national federation has not been realized.

Socialist Party.—There are local Socialist groups in Sao Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, Santos, Parana, and Rio de Janeiro, but no nation-wide organization has been perfected.

Communist Party.—The Communist Party was formally outlawed in 1927. It held its third congress in secret in the Spring of 1929. It has representation in the city council of Rio de Janeiro.

BULGARIA

Independent Unions.—Due to governmental oppression and internal conflict the unions made little progress. The Amsterdam federation has about 2,500, the Communist-controlled independents, about 7,000. There are many autonomous unions of railroad men, postal workers, teachers and other civil servants. Important strikes occurred in May and August of tobacco workers.

Socialist Party Congress.—The leader of the 10 socialists in the Chamber of 273 members, K. Pastukhof, spoke of the thinly disguised dictatorship of Premier A. Liaptchef, at the congress of the party in October. He called it a handicap to organization work and an economic curse to the country. The delegates approved the continuance of the coalition with the artisans' party and the extreme agrarians, and appealed to world Socialists on behalf of Bulgarians in Yugoslav Macedonia, and for a reduction of reparation payments.

Persecution of Communists.—The authorities continued to arrest and jail Communists, whose party is illegal, with three deputies known as Laborites. A sensational trial was ended on December 17, with 40 Communists sentenced to 331 years imprisonment, 15-year terms going to the leaders, M. Stoyanof, Y. Panof, and A. Kesyakof. The prisoners sang the "Internationale" when sentenced. Assassination by bands of semi-official executioners, functioning with the knowledge, if not the support of the authorities, caused the disappearance of numbers of labor agitators. In the confusion, due to the warfare among the Macedonian refugees and to banditry in

general, it was easy for the executioners to deal more speedily with Communists than the courts.

CHILE

Dictatorship.—Under the Fascist dictatorship of General Carlos Ibañez the unions and labor parties have either been wiped out or reduced to impotence. In the parliament, which functions merely as a rubber stamp, there are eight Communists and two Laborites out of a total of 132, and one Communist and Laborite each in the senate of 45 members. By a decree promulgated December 31, 1928, the government "reorganized" the unions, to bring them under state control. La Sociedad Tipografica de Valparaiso, a printers' body, is affiliated with the Pan-American Federation of Labor. Delegates from 11 bakers' unions, with a membership of 23,000, held a conference on September 1, at Santiago, and took steps to form a national federation. On July 13-14, delegates representing 27 unions, with about 30,000 adherents, met in Valparaiso and petitioned Ibañez to enforce the existing social legislation and to enact necessary additional statutes.

CHINA

Kuomintang Government Curb on Unions.—After having used the labor organizations in its campaign for control of China, and then smashed most of them to bits, the executive committee of the Kuomintang promulgated a new law for 1930, which forbids unions to have international affiliations and places them directly under control of local, provincial and national authorities. It provides that all disputes must be settled by arbitration and that no strikes be called to raise wages above the "standard rate." State employes must not belong to unions. Where the power of the Nanking government is more theoretical than real, and in Canton, where there was a revival of left tendencies among the powerful labor bodies, it is not certain that the law will be enforced. The Nanking régime also worked out a factory law barring children under 14, establishing the 8-hour day in principle, providing for shop councils and profit-sharing, and in general improving the old legislation.

Leaders of the All-China Federation of Labor, the once powerful center, held a conference in Shanghai, July 12-13, to consider the clash between Soviet Russia and China over the Chinese Eastern Railway; they participated in the

Vladivostok congress of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat in August; they again met in secret congress in Shanghai on November 7, elected a new executive, approved the tactics of the Red International of Labor Unions, and decided to continue propaganda within and without the "yellow unions."

Communist and Socialist Parties.—The Communists worked underground, being illegal. They were partly responsible for left elements in the Kuomintang protesting against the new union law. The organization of a Workers' and Peasants' Party by Tan Pin-siang, an expelled Communist leader, is reported to have lured away some of the less orthodox Leninists.

A Social Democratic Party, adhering to the Socialist International, has its headquarters in France.

COLOMBIA

Industrial Strife.—The Colombian government had been pressing too fast with highway and railroad development so that when it ran out of funds it had to cut down operations. It tried to drive back the workers to the farms, and to the oil and banana fields, at much lower wages, with the result that there were revolts, which were suppressed and the leaders jailed. The Directorio Obrero Departamental de Bolivar is affiliated with the Pan-American Federation of Labor, while the Sindicato Central Obrero de Colombia was admitted to the Red International of Labor Unions in 1927.

Socialist and Communist Parties.—Local Socialist groups occasionally nominate candidates. In the municipal elections at Bogota, October, 1929, the Socialists polled a fair vote. The Communist Party nominated in November for the presidential election in February, 1930, Alberto Castrillon, who had just been freed on bail, pending review of a sentence of 25 years by a military court, for his part in the 1928 strike in the Santa Marta banana region, which was put down by troops, with much bloodshed.

CUBA

Crushing of Unions by Machado.—Although there are two labor organizations, the Federacion Cubana del Trabajo, and the Hermandad Ferroviaria, affiliated with the Pan-American Federation of Labor, the virtual dictatorship maintained by President Gerardo Machado seems to have reduced them to

semi-governmental institutions. The presidents of these bodies sent messages to William Green after the Toronto (1929) convention of the American Federation of Labor adopted a resolution calling for an official United States government investigation of conditions in Cuba, declaring that Machado was the workers' friend and was doing his best to better their condition. President Machado is credited with a pension law for railroad workers. It is generally conceded, however, that there is no real freedom of organization, industrial or political, on the island. There is no Socialist organization of any consequence. The Communist Party was outlawed in 1925, but it carries on enough underground work to afford excuses for frequent police raids and deportations, as well as murders of labor agitators.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Union Advance.—According to government sources there were on January 1, 1929, 1,733,979 unionists, against 1,681,081 a year before. The Czech and German federations tied up with Amsterdam showed 573,727 against 541,637; the Communist Federation about 65,000, with the Hais secession group estimated at 15,000; the nationalist federation, linked with the National Socialist Party had 302,259; the Christian Federation 111,228, and an independent body of civil servants and employees, 82,891. The Communist Federation expelled Hais, Gruenzweig, Skopek, Sucharda and some other "moderate" leaders of the railroad workers' union, in March. The following month, after having been defeated in the convention of their organization, Hais and Gruenzweig seized the plant of the union's newspaper and turned it into an opposition organ, forcing the orthodox Communist group to launch another publication.

Elections.—The results of the October 27th, 1929, as compared with the 1925 elections, follow:

Czechoslovak Social Democrats, 29 in 1925 and 39 deputies in 1929, 630,894 to 970,011 votes; German Social Democrats, 17 to 21 deputies, 411,040 to 506,204; Czechoslovak National Socialists, 27 to 32, 609,195 to 767,503; Czechoslovak Republican Agrarians, 45 to 46, and 1,104,956 votes; Communist Party, 41 to 30 deputies, 933,711 to 752,737 votes.

The total popular vote was 7,386,019, against 7,105,206 in 1925. The total number of deputies is 300. Of the 150 senators, there are 20 Czechslovak Socialists, 11 German Socialists, 16 National Socialists, and 15 Communists. The voting age is 26 for the senate, 21 for the lower house.

Socialists Enter Cabinet.—Following their gains, the Czechoslovak, German and National Socialists (semi-Socialist Progressives) entered a coalition cabinet, formed on December 7 by Premier F. Udrzal, the Republican Agrarian leader. For the Czechoslovak Socialists Alfred Meissner took the post of Justice, Ivan Derer, Education, Rudolf Bechyne, Food Supply, and for the German Socialists, Ludwig Czech, Welfare. The German Socialists had never participated in a government before. During 1929 more than 100 local units were added to the Czechoslovak Socialist Party. The Magyar and Polish Socialists also cooperated closely. In the elections the Socialists called for advanced social legislation, attacked the high cost of living, demanded consideration for national minorities and international peace.

Communist Party Difficulties.—Dissension in the Communist Party during 1929 reduced both its membership and vote. At the July Plenum of the Communist International, where Jilek was expelled, the party's membership was given as 81,432, against 138,000 in 1927. The congress in February recalled Smeral and Jilek from the presidium of the Comintern, and chose a new secretariat, consisting of Gottwald, Sverma, Melzer and Fried. It declared war on "right" tendencies, and proceeded with wholesale expulsions, including the ousting in May of Deputy Alois Muna, a leading figure. The government continued to arrest Communists, and tried to suppress their demonstrations.

DENMARK

Growth of Union Federation.—Through the reaffiliation of the Union of General Workers, 90,000 members, which had seceded in 1926, the Danish Federation of Labor reached 250,000, a new high mark. In May J. Jensen was elected president, H. Jacobsen, treasurer, and N. Rasmussen, secretary.

Socialist Gains.—The make-up of the new lower house, as a result of the elections on April 24, follows:

Socialists 61 deputies, formerly 53;
Radicals, 16, formerly 16;
Agrarians, 43, formerly 47;
Conservatives, 24, formerly 30;
Single Taxers, 3, formerly 2; and
Slesvig-German, 1, formerly 1.

The popular vote of the Socialist Party was 593,000, a gain of 96,000 over 1926. The Communist Party received 3,641 in 1929, against 5,678 in 1926.

Composition of Cabinet.—Theodore Stauning, with the help of the Radicals, formed a government, composed as follows: Stauning, Premier; Bramsnaes, Finance; Dahl, Cults; Friss-Skotte, Transportation; Steincke, Health; Borgbjerg, Education; Hauge, Commerce; Rasmussen, Defense; Bording, Agriculture; (all Socialists); Munch, Foreign Affairs; Dahlgaard, Interior; Zahle, Justice; (Radicals).

The electoral program of the Socialists called for abolition of the army and navy, to be replaced by a system of customs patrols and frontier guards at reduced cost; repeal of the anti-strike legislation of the previous government; abolition of the upper house, with its agrarian-conservative majority; and advanced social welfare laws. The Radicals agree with the Socialists on disarmament and the elimination of the upper house. They are likely to desert the Socialists on any drastic measures to relieve unemployment and removing taxation from the workers and small farmers, as they did in 1926.

Labor Unity in Iceland.—More than 5,000 of the 10,000 inhabitants of this country, united with Denmark in that King Christian is nominal ruler of both, belong to the combined federation of unions and Socialist party, affiliated with the Socialist International, and with five out of 42 deputies. Iceland's social legislation and living conditions are already of high standard, with the Socialist program demanding faster progress.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Trade Union Congress.—The Confederacion Dominicana del Trabajo, which is affiliated with the Pan-American Federation of Labor, met in Congress in Santo Domingo, November 17-18, 1929. It adopted resolutions demanding legislation protecting the right of labor to build up unions and defend its interests. It approved a new constitution, elected Manuel Pazos secretary, and fixed headquarters in Santo Domingo. The 45 delegates voted unanimously to send fraternal greetings to President William Green of the American Federation of Labor.

ECUADOR

New Labor Legislation.—Laws providing for a 48-hour working week, and regulating the labor of children closely, went into effect on January 1, 1929. Under the comparatively liberal régime of President Isidro Ayora, the labor organizations apparently function without much interference. The Confederacion Obrera Ecuatoriana, affiliated with the Pan-American Federation of Labor, is the principal union. A Socialist Party was founded in April, 1926, and there are Socialists in the Guayaquil city council.

ESTONIA

Unions Small.—The Amsterdam center reported 5,506 members on January 1, 1929, a slight gain. In an overwhelming agricultural population there were but 13,336 unionists. At the congress of the federation in March, 17 of the 121 delegates were Communists.

Socialists Leave Cabinet.—August Rei, Socialist head of a left coalition government since December 4, 1928, resigned, and early in July Otto Strandman, a leader of the agrarian reformers and radical intellectuals took the helm. In the May 12, 1929, election, despite a decline of 20,000 votes in the total cast by all parties, the Socialists gained one seat, obtaining 25, in a house of 100, and increased their poll from 115,000 to 121,000. The Workers' Party, the legal expression of the Communist movement, which was declared illegal after the abortive uprising of December, 1924, retained its six deputies.

FINLAND

Trade Union Split.—The long-standing conflict between Communist and Socialist unionists came to a head at a congress in Helsingfors, in May, 1929. The Socialist members of the executive refused to stand for re-election and the new executive became all Communist. On September 29-30, some 200 delegates from Socialist-controlled locals met in conference and sent out an appeal for allegiance. A committee of twenty, with V. V. Salovaara as chairman was elected, which in turn selected an executive of seven, with E. Huttunen as its head. The general council of the Federation controlled by the Communists voted 25 to 22, on October 13, 1929, to require its unions to expel members be-

longing to the seceding Socialist group. The council also declared against sending delegations to the International Labor Conferences at Geneva. Previously it vetoed the move of President Matti Paasivuori and his fellow-Socialists on the executive to participate in a capital and labor conference in February, called by the government to consider strike legislation. The Finnish Federation, friendly to the Red International of Labor Unions, made unsuccessful efforts to unite Amsterdam and Moscow.

Communist Gain in Elections.—Dissolution of parliament in April, following rejection by a vote of 128 to 57 of the government's bill to increase the salaries of state employes and a strike threat by the latter, resulted in an election on July 1-2, 1929. The Socialists increased their vote by a few thousand, but lost one seat, dropping from 60 to 59. The Communists, outlawed, used the name Workers and Small Farmers, and ran up their vote 18,000, polling 170,000, and increasing their representation from 20 to 23. The labor parties made large gains in the communal elections earlier in the year, including the country districts. Ida Vihuri, Socialist deputy, was lost in the steamship disaster on Lake Nasijarvi, on September 7.

Following the example of its predecessors the government on December 20th, over combined Communist and Socialist opposition, forced through a bill giving it almost unlimited power to suppress Communist and labor agitation. Communists demonstrated on August 1, and called a general strike on November 16 against jail conditions for political prisoners.

FRANCE

Unions Slowly Gaining.—At the September, 1929, congress of the Confederation Générale du Travail (C. G. T.), affiliated with Amsterdam, reports indicated that it was slowly recovering from the post-war factional strife. The membership on January 1, 1929 was 638,326, against 605,250 three years previously. Leon Jouhaux, secretary, emphasized the struggle to have the social insurance law adopted by parliament in April, 1928, made effective. The Confederation Générale du Travail Unitaire, the Communist body, affiliated with the Red International of Labor Unions, met at the same time as the Amsterdam body, but made no overtures for unity, as in the past. In 1928 it claimed 525,000 members.

Socialists Reject Cabinet Offer. — The Parti Socialiste, affiliated with the Socialist International, at a special conven-

tion on October 28-29, 1929, rejected by a vote of 1,590 to 1,431, an offer of four seats in a coalition cabinet of the left, that Edouard Daladier, a Socialistic Radical, was trying to form to replace the Briand government, which had been overthrown on October 22. Joseph Paul-Boncour and Pierre Renaudel led the forces favoring participation, Paul Faure and Leon Blum demanded that the party must have the commanding role in the formation of a government before it joins. At the regular party congress, a membership of 109,892, as of January 1, was reported.

Communist Party Divisions.—At the April congress, discussion of the "right danger" occupied the delegates. A general house-cleaning followed, with the expulsion of six of the seven Communist members of the Paris common council. Deputy Jean Pierre Mourer of Alsace, M. Hueber, Mayor of Strasbourg, and others were included, resulting in the Alsace section quitting the party. The French government conducted guerilla warfare against the Communists during the entire year, using alleged Soviet spy plots and the anti-war demonstration, scheduled for August 1, as pretexts for wholesale arrests and raids.

Elections.—The Socialists and Communists made numerous gains in the May municipal elections. The former won control of 164 of the 769 organized communes, including industrial Lyons. They returned Leon Blum to parliament at a bye-election in April, following the death of a Socialist deputy. The Communists won a majority in 30 communes, including Clichy, St. Denis, and some other parts of "Red Paris", where the party executive subsequently expelled the members of the local administrations.

GERMANY

Labor Conditions.—The number drawing unemployed benefits dropped from 1,721,342 in January to 710,499 in July, but rose again to about 1,800,000 in December. In the first half of 1929 there was a rise of about two percent in real wages, continuing the tendency of 1927 and 1928. The labor movement prevented the employers from emasculating the unemployment benefit system in October. There were few industrial strikes. A lockout of 50,000 Silesian textile workers which began in May was ended in July by a federal decree raising wages slightly.

Unions.—The Federation affiliated with Amsterdam showed a membership of 4,942,986 on July 1, 1929, as against 4,866,-

926 at the end of 1928. The separate salaried employees' organization declined from 394,801 on January 1, 1928 to 370,648 the year following. The Christian or Catholic federation reported 763,843 members on January 1, 1929.

The Communists called a congress, attended by 1,122 delegates from 816 shops and unions, to intensify the "boring from within" movement, November 30-December 1, 1929.

Socialist Party.—The Social Democratic Party added 75,000 new members in a "week's drive" in October, with the prospect of having reached 1,000,000, its goal. On July 1, there were 957,692. On January 1, 1928, it had 867,671. At the party congress held at Magdeburg in May, Chancellor Hermann Mueller successfully defended the action of himself and his three fellow Socialists in the coalition cabinet (Rudolf Hilferding, Finance; Carl Severing, Interior; and Rudolf Wissel, Labor) in voting the second credit for a new cruiser. He contended that inasmuch as the Reichstag had ordered the warship, it was the government's duty to carry out such an order, regardless of his wishes. While the Socialist deputies supported a Communist motion against the credit in the Reichstag on June 18, the Socialist cabinet ministers voted against it. The Socialists in the cabinet supported the Young Plan, and opposed the reactionary moves against social legislation. Adam Stegerwald, leader of the Catholic unions, was made Minister of Transportation. Relations improved between the Socialist and Christian unionists in the sphere of legislation.

On December 21, Dr. Hilferding resigned as Minister of Finance, and was succeeded by Dr. Paul Moldenhauer, People's Party, whose place as Minister of Economics was taken by Robert Schmidt, a veteran Socialist.

In the Diet elections in Saxony, Baden and Thuringia, and the communal and provincial polls in Prussia and Saxony, the Socialists gained everywhere, often at the expense of the Communists, with the exception of Berlin, Frankfort-on-the-Main, and Breslau. At certain places both gained. In Hanover the Socialists increased their popular vote from 69,608 to 118,000, electing 38 of the 74 aldermen. The extreme reactionaries, the National Socialist Labor Party, led by Adolf Hitler, made striking gains at the cost of the German Nationalists.

Communist Party.—With the "left wing" or Leninbund pretty well out of the way, the Communist Party convention of June stressed the importance of eliminating the "right wing," as well as the "conciliators." Meyer and Ewert were

included among the latter. The delegates supported the party chief, Ernest Thalmann, in his contention that no mistake had been made during the May Day riots, which grew out of defiance of an order issued by Carl Zoergiebel, Socialist chief of police of Berlin, early in the Winter, barring street parades, and which cost the lives of 23 persons and the wounding of many more. There were no serious clashes on August 1, because by that time the ban on street parades had been lifted.

In the elections the Communists fared best in Berlin, where they had been the first to uncover and exploit a graft scandal in city contracts and banking, involving aldermen of practically every group, including Communists and Socialists. The November 17th poll increased their seats in the council from 43 to 56, and reduced Socialist representation from 73 to 64. There are 225 aldermen. Of the total popular vote of 2,294,278, the Socialists received 651,735, the Communists 565,595.

Seventy-five followers of Heinrich Brandler met at Weimar in October and claiming to represent more than 5,000 members, elected Brandler, Thalheimer and Paul Froehlich to the executive. They lost their six deputies in Thuringia to the regular Communist party in the December 8th election. The Trotskyites polled only 3,787 votes in the Berlin election.

GREAT BRITAIN

Economic Difficulties Continue.—With production in the basic industries mostly stationary or declining, and mass unemployment of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions, the workers' organizations were on the defensive against wage reductions. The cotton textile workers accepted an arbitration award which cut their wages about $6\frac{1}{4}$ percent. The railway unions agreed to the continuance of the $2\frac{1}{2}$ percent reduction, accepted in 1928, if their other conditions remained unaltered. In the Ministry of Labor figures (covering about 7 million employees) aggregate reductions in the weekly wage for the first ten months of 1929 ran to £81,250, compared with £148,800 for the same period in 1928. On the other hand, strikes involved 517,000 workers, with a loss of 8,081,000 days in the ten months of 1929, against 117,000 workers and 1,316,000 days in 1928.

Trades Union Congress.—The 1929 gathering met in Belfast, with Ben Tillett in the chair. Close to 600 delegates from 202 unions represented 3,673,144 members, a decline of about 200,000 over the previous year. The reaffiliation of the

National Seamen's Union(now that J. Havelock Wilson is dead), and the results of a recruiting campaign are expected to reverse the tendency. A reference in the president's address to the development of Empire trade received considerable publicity in the press. The general council presented the results of its detailed investigation into "the disruptive elements," ordered by the last congress. The individual unions, it was claimed, had dealt effectively with them. After a spirited debate, the Miners' resolution calling for only one union in each industry was defeated by a majority of 255,000. The Congress adopted the following resolutions:

Resumption of trade relations with Soviet Russia; drastic amendment to the Trades Disputes and Trades Union Bill; improved benefits and administration in unemployment insurance; need for more effective organization to meet the dangers of rationalization; legal enforcement of a 48-hour maximum working week and other protective legislation.

The Congress endorsed the scheme to share control of the *Daily Herald* in a new company with the representatives of Odhams Press. Thus, it was claimed, the necessary capital for the expansion of the paper would be secured, while its policy would be decided as before by the resolutions accepted by the Labor Party Conference and the Trades Union Congress. The opponents of the Mond-Turner Conferences were defeated by a show of hands. Since the last Congress the organized employers in the Federation of British Industries and the National Confederation of Employers had rejected the proposals. These bodies, however, were prepared to set up a joint committee with the general council of the Congress "to examine the best methods for consultation and cooperation." Unemployment, taxation of industry, and foreign trade were listed for joint discussion in December.

Second Labor Government.—In the elections of May 30, the Labor Party secured 287 members. With the transfer of allegiance of Sir William Jowitt, the position of the parties in the House of Commons was: Labor, 288; Liberals, 58; Conservatives, 260; and Independents, 9. In round figures, out of 28½ million votes cast, the Conservatives received 8½, the Labor Party, 8¼, and the Liberals, 5¼. The second Labor Cabinet was constituted as follows:

Prime Minister	James Ramsay MacDonald
Chancellor of the Exchequer ...	Phillip Snowden
Secretary for Foreign Affairs....	Arthur Henderson
Secretary for Dominions.....	Sidney Webb (later, Lord Passfield)
Lord Chancellor	Lord Parmoor
Lord President of the Council..	Lord Justice Sankey
Lord Privy Seal	James Henry Thomas
Secretary for Home Affairs.....	John Robert Clynes
Secretary for India	Wedgwood Benn

Secretary for War	Tom Shaw
Secretary for Air	Lord Thomson
Minister of Health	Arthur Greenwood
Minister of Labor	Margaret Bondfield
Minister of Agriculture	Noel Buxton
Minister of Education	Sir Charles Phillips Trevelyan
President of the Board of Trade	William Graham
First Lord of the Admiralty	Albert Victor Alexander
Secretary for Scotland	William Adamson
First Commissioner of Works	George Lansbury

For the six months of 1929, the chief positive acts of the Labor Government were:

Foreign Affairs. Definite proposals for self-government in Iraq and Egypt and dismissal of Lloyd; ratification of the Washington 8-hour day convention; increased recognition of the League of Nations; suspension of cruiser building, and slowing-down of Singapore naval base; MacDonald-Hoover conversations, with the former's visit to the United States, leading up to the five-power naval conference in London in January, 1930; withdrawal of British troops from the Ruhr; resumption of diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia; a declaration that "dominion status" must be the natural issue of the Simon Commission and the proposed conferences on the future of India.

Home Affairs. Raising of the school-leaving age to 15 years, with adequate maintenance grants to begin April 1, 1931; postponement of a reduction due in civil service wages of about \$4,000,000; six days annual holiday with pay for all employees in government industrial undertakings; extension of rent restrictions and the subsidy for houses to let; suspension of the dictators put in by the Conservative Government because some local Poor Law Guardians were suspected of generosity to the poor; extension of milk grants to nursing mothers, also of widows' pensions to half a million extra recipients at a cost of \$40,000,000 in 1930; investigation into the relations of banking and industry; increase of unemployment pay for a dependent wife from \$1.75 weekly to \$2.25, and for unemployed persons 17-19 years of age of about one dollar; work schemes on roads, railroads, etc., to absorb the unemployed and to cost about \$210,000,000; a Mines Bill to create a central market board and a national wages board, and to reduce the working day of miners from 8 to 7½ hours.

In the November local elections a net gain of 100 seats was secured, and in 80 of the largest cities and boroughs labor now holds 563 against 576 seats by the combined opposition. Bye-election parliamentary results have also been favorable.

Labor Party Conference.—Herbert Morrison presided at the Brighton convention. Ministers Thomas, Henderson, and Snowden reported upon the acts of the Labor Government. By 1,263,000 to 866,000 votes the delegates postponed the Independent Labor Party resolution for allowances for children. While the miners and the textile trades favored it, the other unions showed concern over the effect of such payments upon wage rates. Arthur Henderson argued that the Government had extended social services, still to be met by new taxation. A motion to censure the unemployment administration was defeated by only 73,000 votes. The resolu-

tion for immediate national control of currency, banking and finance was withdrawn upon Snowden's announcement of an inquiry and his promise to strengthen the company law to protect investors from deception. The effects of the Trades Disputes Bill of 1927, by disaffiliating the civil service unions and compelling unionists specifically to declare their willingness to pay the political levy, reduced the party membership by more than 1,200,000. The Labor Government is pledged to amend this act of the Conservatives.

Independent Labor Party.—The *New Leader*, official organ, is now under the editorship of E. E. Hunter. Like the Independent Labor Party itself, the weekly has maintained a critical friendly attitude to the Labor Government. It has censured its inadequate unemployment scale of payments, the lack of large scale construction work, and has demanded child allowances and the living wage to remove unemployment. When the chairman, Maxton, with Wheatley and others, voted against the Government's unemployment insurance bill, a majority of the I. L. P. parliamentary group protested, but the I. L. P. national council endorsed the anti-Government action. Some resignations followed.

Communist Party.—Party strength, according to official figures, was 3,500 on January 1, 1929. In the general election, 25 candidates received 50,622 votes, as compared with 41,000 secured by 6 candidates in 1924. Saklatvala's defeat left the party without a seat in the House of Commons. In December the *Sunday Worker* was replaced by the *Workers' Illustrated News* and a *Daily Worker* announced for January 1, 1930. The party has, in common with other sections of the Communist International, emphasized the "right wing" danger and purged itself of "right" elements, including many old leaders. The Minority Movement cooperated with dual unions, such as the National Union of Scottish Mineworkers and the United Clothing Workers, while continuing to "bore from within." The communists, through the National Unemployed Workers Committee Movement, organized a march of 800 men on London, in February-March.

GREECE

Communists Form Dual Federation.—The Greek Federation of Labor, affiliated with the Amsterdam international, reported a membership of 98,470 on January 1, 1929. In the first week of February, however, the Communists called a conference to which 289 delegates responded, claiming to speak for 60,000 workers, mostly in tobacco, printing and metals, and organized a rival general federation. Their con-

vention was disturbed by violent clashes with a group, called Super-Marxists, who were ejected by the police after they had wounded about fifteen of the Communists. Strikes of dock workers at Piraeus—settled by the government to the advantage of the workers—of gas workers and street car men in Athens and of tobacco workers on the island of Tapos were marked with the violence common to Greek labor struggles.

Undermining of Socialist Deputies.—By offering four seats in his newly created senate to leaders of the Federation of Labor, Premier Venizelos brought discord into the Socialist Labor Party, organized in 1928, and affiliated with the Socialist International. The union chiefs accepted, without even asking leave of the party to which they belonged.

Communists Outlawed.—The Communist Party was outlawed by a decree promulgated on June 21 by Premier Venizelos. There were numerous arrests in order to prevent demonstrations on May 1 and August 1.

GUATEMALA

Pan-American Federation of Labor Affiliates.—There are two labor groups affiliated with the Pan-American Federation of Labor, the Federacion Obrera de Guatemala, and the Federacion Obrera Occidental, the latter being a regional organization.

HOLLAND

Strength of Various Federations.—There were 554,148 unionists, as of January 1, 1929, divided as follows:

Netherland Trade Union Federation (Amsterdam)	220,000
Catholic Federation	110,384
Protestant Federation	57,518
National Labor Secretariat (left)	16,079
General Netherland Trade Union Fed. (neutral)...	12,619
Brain Workers' Federation (neutral).....	15,757
Syndicalist Trade Union Federation.....	2,943

The Amsterdam body had added about 40,000 members in 1928, and on October 1, 1929, it counted 251,559 adherents. The National Labor Secretariat quit the Red International of Labor Unions in 1928.

Socialist Parties.—Elections to the lower and upper house of parliament which took place in July returned the same number of Socialists, 24 and 11 respectively. The vote rose to 804,818 against 706,689, but the total cast also increased. Jan Oudegeest, president of the party, was made a senator.

The new group organized by R. Stenhuis, the former trade union leader, and called the Revolutionary Socialist Party, polled 21,768 votes but won no seats. The February congress of the Social Democratic Labor Party laid down the program for the campaign: amnesty for the natives of the Dutch East Indies imprisoned because of the 1926-27 uprising; disarmament; non-contributory old-age pensions; preparation of the colonies for eventual independence; and ratification of the conventions of the International Labor Organization.

Communist Party.—The regular Communist Party, the "Stalinites," received 37,622 votes in the parliamentary elections, while the group led by David Wynkoop, accused of being "right wing," polled 29,860. Each elected one deputy. The "Stalinites" expelled Mannoury and Carelsen, prominent members, as Trotskyites, in November.

Indonesian Agitation.—Occasional arrests of alleged Communist agitators and native nationalists in the Dutch East Indies continued during the year. The Amsterdam trade union federation decided in November to send a delegation to the Dutch colony to help organize the native workers.

HONDURAS

Union Situation.—Although it was reported early in 1927 that the scattered unions of Honduras had held a convention in La Ceiba, organized a Federation of Labor, and decided to join the Pan-American Federation of Labor, the name of the body actually affiliated in 1929 was given as the Sociedad de Artesanos "El Progreso," which would indicate that it is a local society of skilled workers.

HUNGARY

Unemployment and Suppression of Protests.—The dictatorship, headed by Regent Nicholas Horthy and Premier Stephen Bethlen, allows the Federation of Labor, affiliated with Amsterdam, to exist, but greatly restricts its activities. The workers are miserably paid and heavily exploited. Unemployment was rife all through 1929. There were monster protest meetings in January and October in Budapest, to demand work or bread from the government. The police charged the masses. Karl Peyer, a Socialist deputy and union leader, together with other union officials announced a public meeting on the unemployment situation in Budapest for December 9th, but it was forbidden.

Government Treachery to Socialists.—Premier Bethlen offered the Social Democratic Party's leaders a number of

reforms, including removal of his objections to a secret ballot, if they would come out for revision of the Treaty of Trianon. The May convention of the party unanimously supported the executive in refusing to join the government-controlled "League for the Revision of the Peace Treaty." In July, however, the officials declared their willingness to work for revision, together with all others, except those that "stand in the way of the attainment of this aim by their anti-democratic or warlike attitudes." Bethlen's promises, nevertheless, were not carried out. Socialist activities continued to be hampered, and Socialists were jailed on trifling charges. There was no freedom for the opposition parties in the Fall municipal elections. When Regent Horthy pardoned Ernest Garami, Emmanuel Buchinger and Jacob Weltner on October 12, these prominent Socialists renewed their declaration of some weeks before that they would fight on against Horthyism. The executive continued to demand the resignation of Count Bethlen. The Socialist deputies hooted the visiting Italian Fascist minister, and demanded protection for persecuted Jewish students. Socialist candidates made notable gains in the elections in the reorganized sick benefit insurance societies last Spring. Dr. Sigmund Kunfi, who held cabinet positions both under the Karolyi and Bela Kun régimes, died in exile in Vienna, November 18, at the age of 50 years.

Communist Hunger Strikers Perish.—Communist agitation is carried on underground and the government is constantly arresting real, or alleged, "emissaries of Moscow," and radical labor leaders. In 1929 there were several important trials of Communists, and, as usual, they were imprisoned for long terms. In October a number of political prisoners went on a hunger-strike to obtain better prison conditions and to draw the attention of the world to their plight. Alexander Levy and Alexander Staron both died as a result of starvation, while Matthias Rakosi, a People's Commissar under Bela Kun and his associate Zoltan Weinberg, barely escaped the same fate. The Socialist deputies backed up the strikers' demands and the Minister of Justice promised relief. In December, however, it was reported that six politicals had resumed their hunger-strike, following the refusal of prison authorities to deliver food packages sent from the outside.

INDIA

Trade Union Federation Split.—Differences over union tactics and Indiana nationalism caused the splitting of the All India Trade Union Congress, organized in 1920 and embrac

ing about 100,000 members, at its convention in Nagpur, November 28-December 1, 1929, into two groups of about equal strength. The convention, under the presidency of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, elected chairman of the Indian Nationalist Congress on December 31, on a platform supported by Mahatma Gandhi calling for complete independence, voted to boycott the Whitley Royal Commission, named by the British Government to investigate labor conditions. It also decided against nominating labor members to the International Labor Conference at Geneva and refused to affiliate with the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat. Subash Bose, a radical nationalist of Bengal, succeeded Nehru as president of the Federation. It was Bose and a group of about 30 delegates to the Lahore Indian National Congress, who on January 1, 1930 formed a left wing section to speed the move for independence by more drastic measures than those approved by the majority. N. M. Joshi, general secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress, R. R. Bahkale, assistant secretary, and Dewan Chaman Lal, among others, left the convention, organized the Indian Trades Union Federation and claimed 24 of the 42 unions, including the railroad men of Bengal.

Numerous Strikes.—Due to almost intolerable working conditions and to agitation, strikes broke out in the textile mills of Bengal and Bombay, in the tinplate mills at Golmuri, and among the dock workers and railroad men. The Bombay strike involved 100,000 workers, and began over the dismissal on March 1, of a worker, said to have absented himself from work without leave. It was not officially called off until September 18, after a Court of Enquiry reported in favor of the employers and the strikers had begun to return to the mills. The Bengal strike started on July 6, in the Bangore Jute Mills, against the lengthening of working hours from 54 to 60, without any increase in wages. On August 6th four persons were killed and 17 injured in a clash. Soon 200,000 workers were out. The employers finally agreed to pay for the extra hours and made other concessions, and the strike ended on August 19. The Trades Disputes Act, under which the Court of Enquiry acted in the Bombay strike, was bitterly opposed by the unions, but was put through in April, and stands for five years. It bars political strikes and subjects practically all industrial conflicts to compulsory arbitration.

Communist Activities.—In the Bombay municipal election of January 31, four Communists ran under the banner of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, polling 12,453 votes and were nearly elected. On March 20, there were widespread

raids and 31 alleged Communists, mostly labor leaders, were arrested and jailed at Meerut, charged with being tools of the Communist International in its campaign to "deprive the King-Emperor of his sovereignty of British India." Among the prisoners were some Englishmen who helped to found a rival textile union. On April 8 two bombs were hurled at the government benches in the Indian legislative assembly at Delhi. The Public Safety Bill, empowering the government to deport non-Indian agitators was being discussed. In November, the British Labor Government refused to allow Shapurji Saklatvala, Communist, to visit India. N. M. Roy, once the Indian member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, was expelled in December for "right wing deviations."

Ceylon Union Growth.—On January 1, 1929, the membership of the 25 unions affiliated with the Federation of Labor, was 114,000, a gain of about 40,000 within a few years.

ITALY

Unions Incorporated into State Apparatus.—With the "consolidation" in 1929 of the Fascist régime, the last remnant of self-government in the Fascist unions was abolished. Edmondo Rossoni, the former anarchist leader of the Fascist unions, was displaced by Giuseppe Bottai, Minister of Corporations. The unions were practically joined to the employers' associations as a cog in the state machine. Their membership was given as 2,845,606 on November 7, but it was added that these members "represented" more than 8,000,000 workers. The Italian press had to admit that some of the Fascist unionists, especially in the Industrial North, were complaining about the failure of their spokesmen to fight for them and the refusal of the employers to hear their demands. It is true that some of Mussolini's "labor courts" dole out minor concessions. Walter M. Citrine, president, and Johann Sassenbach, secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions, made a secret trip of investigation in Italy late in 1928. The London *Sunday Express*, which printed a wild tale about their objective, paid \$2,500 and published an apology when sued for libel by Citrine.

Socialist and Communist Activity.—Delegates of the Unitarian and Maximalist Socialists were reported to have met secretly in Italy during 1929, and to have agreed upon unity. They function together abroad. Professor Carlo Rosselli, the savant who had been sent to the dreaded Lipari Islands for having helped the Socialist leader, Filippo Turati, to leave Italy in 1926, and two others made their escape to Paris

in August, under dramatic circumstances. They estimated that there were hundreds of prisoners on the islands and in all Italy about 15,000 in jail. On October 24, Fernando de Rosa, a 21-year-old refugee from Italy and a member of the Maximalist Socialist Party, made an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate Crown Prince Humbert in Brussels. The Communists continued to work underground. A number were jailed or exiled.

JAPAN

Unions Growing Slowly.—In the face of repeated splits over tactics and considerable governmental opposition, the Japanese unions continue to grow. There were 542 locals, with 321,125 members, of whom 13,304 were women, on July 1, 1929, a gain of about 21,000 since July 1, 1928. The General Federation of Labor, headed by Bunji Suzuki, expelled three unions in Osaka in September, for left activities, losing several thousand members. The authorities, always on the hunt for disseminators of "dangerous thoughts," arrested the entire executive board of the Communist body, Kyogikai, in August. The Japanese Federation of Trade Unions, midway between the right and left, met in congress at Kobe, October 5-6, 1929, with 180 delegates, representing 24,452 members, reelected President Tanashashi, and demanded aid for the unemployed. The federal government, after a delay of 18 years, enforced the prohibition of night work for women and young persons in factories. In October, however, it proposed cutting salaries of State employes ten percent, but such a protest was raised that it abandoned the move.

Re-forming of Labor Parties.—The Labor-Farmer Party (Nihon Rono-To) which was dissolved in April, 1928, because of its alleged Communist character, was re-formed on November 1, 1929, by a group of intellectuals who believed they could count on the new premier's alleged liberalism and build up a labor party. The orthodox Communists denounced the step. The December convention of the Social Democratic Party (Shakai Minshu-To) denounced the Communist International and expelled a group of left wing delegates. On March 5, Senji Yamamoto, one of the eight proletarian deputies, was assassinated by a member of a newly organized "patriotic" society. On March 18, six labor candidates were elected to the Tokio Municipal Council of 84 members. The government throughout the year, and especially in the Fall, made wholesale raids upon alleged, or real, Communists, including hundreds of students and workers, many of whom were imprisoned.

LATVIA

General Strike Called.—The Latvian Federation of Labor, affiliated with Amsterdam, whose membership on January 1, 1929, was 21,888, against 18,732 the year before, together with the Social Democratic Party, called a 24-hour general strike on October 18, against a decree by the reactionary Agrarian government, depriving the sick benefit funds of their autonomy, putting them under the thumb of the employers, and reducing the state's contribution. The government answered by a display of armed force, the Communists tried to provoke bloody clashes, but it was reported about 80 percent of the factory workers responded and Riga was tied up tight. The Communist unions were dissolved by the government in 1928. They claimed 10,000 members. Early in 1929 some 4,500 were under their control, it was estimated.

Socialists Fight Reaction.—On November 23, by a vote of 51 to 45, parliament passed the nullification bill on the new land division giving the same preference to those who had fought for the German landlords and reactionaries in 1919. 1920, as their opponents who had defended the new republic—a striking victory for the Socialists, who had obtained 200,000 signatures to a demand for nullification of the government decree. Janis Rainis, former Minister of Education in the left coalition cabinet of 1927, and a noted poet, died on September 12.

Communists Jailed.—In spite of illegality, the Communist movement carried on. Eight of their leaders were sent to jail during the year.

LITHUANIA

Modification of Reign of Terror.—Dictator Augustinas Voldemaras, who took power by a coup d'état on December 17, 1926, was forced to resign on September 19, 1929. His successor, Jonas Tubelis, announced there would be a return to constitutional government. On December 4, the Kaunas (Kovno) military court nullified the decree dissolving the Social Democratic Party issued in May, following an attempt to assassinate Voldemaras, and on December 8, the press reported that the party had been recognized as a legal body. In November, however, about 30 students, mostly Socialists, had been sentenced by court martial to terms of from six years to life. It is estimated that at least 5,000 Socialist Communists and trade unionists were imprisoned, and about 100 executed during the régime of Voldemaras. J. Pletskaitis, who was expelled from the organization of Lithuania

Socialists abroad, and five others, were arrested by German police on September 4, while attempting to cross the border into Lithuania, laden with hand grenades and bombs. His activities furnished the dictatorship an excuse for wholesale arrests and imprisonments. The entire labor movement carried on underground during the terroristic régime.

LUXEMBURG

Union and Political Functions United.—Although Luxemburg is only a tiny country, it is an important link in the chain of iron and steel production in Europe. The Federation of Labor and Labor Party showed growth in 1929. Union membership ran to 15,317 and representation consisted of 12 of the 52 deputies in the Chamber.

MEXICO

Activities of C. R. O. M.—The Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana (C. R. O. M.), the leading union, affiliated with the Pan-American Federation of Labor, declared on March 6, 1929, its wholehearted support of the efforts of former president Plutarco Elias Calles to suppress the revolt led by General Escobar. Its political arm, the Partido Laborista Mexicano, came out for Pascual Ortiz Rubio, in the presidential election of November 17. He was an easy winner against Jose Vasconcelos and Pedro Rodriguez Triana. The result was:

Rubio, National Revolutionary Party, 1,825,761 votes;
Vasconcelos, Anti-Reelectionists, 110,279; and
Triana, Workers' and Peasants' Bloc, Communist, 23,279.

Only 21 persons were reported killed on election day in one of the rare peaceful successions of the presidency in Mexico. Nevertheless, Vasconcelos declared that he had been robbed and issued a call for a revolt, from the United States, to which he had fled. The Communists and the recalcitrant Clericals—those dissatisfied with the settlement of the religious question in June—assailed Rubio as a "tool of Wall Street."

The C. R. O. M. sharply differed with President Emilio Portes Gil over many labor matters, and its leaders believed that the new president (scheduled to take office on February 5, 1930) would modify the labor code projected by Portes Gil, and also collaborate with them more closely than his predecessor. Government antagonism and secessions had reduced the membership of the C. R. O. M. considerably.

Other Unions.—The left-wing and Communist-controlled labor groups held an organizing convention in January, and formed a separate federation. The railroad unions, with about 75,000 members, continued aloof from all others. The syndicalist federation, with possibly 25,000 members, mostly textile workers, was ready to call a general strike on August 16, in case Portes Gil's labor code became law. The textile workers' federation, at a convention in June, declared against the installation of modern machinery as a menace to the workers' jobs.

Attitude of Government in Railroad Strike.—The principal labor conflict of the year, that of the 3,500 unionists on the Mexican Railway Company, a British-owned line, was won by the workers on December 19, after a 13-day strike. They demanded an agreement giving the union more recognition in the management. President Portes Gil announced that no strikebreakers could be hired, nor must there be any destruction of property. As arbitrator, he decided that the strike was legal and conceded the strikers' demands. The Chamber of Deputies adopted a resolution supporting the strikers and branding the management of the railroad as an enemy of the Mexican people.

Communist Party.—Beginning with street demonstrations in Mexico City in January at the funeral of Julio Antonio Mella, a visiting Cuban Communist, who, the Communists charge, was assassinated by Cuban government agents, the Mexican Communists continued their activity throughout the year. Besides organizing for the elections and assisting in launching a left-wing union body, they kept up a steady agitation against the government, which in turn raided them, and at the end of the year used a story of a plot to slay Calles, as a pretext for wholesale arrests of party leaders and the deportation of about a dozen aliens. At the July plenum, the party expelled a number of "right wingers," prominent in the artistic and political life of the nation, the best known of whom was the painter, Diego Rivera.

NEW ZEALAND

Unemployment Rife.—Unemployment in 1929 was high, running to about ten percent of the 100,000 union membership and necessitating the extension of public works, particularly railway construction. The New Zealand Alliance of Labor, which aims "at the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution and the control of all industries by the workers who operate them, in the interest of the community" has about 80,000 of the organized men and women.

Increased Activity of Labor Party.—Since the elections of November 14, 1928, where the Labor Party, under the leadership of the veteran, H. H. Holland, gained five seats, giving it 19 of the 80 deputies in the house, it has become more aggressive. Standard wages (about \$3.50 a day) are now paid for work furnished the unemployed, instead of the low "relief" rates formerly prevailing. Neither the Labor Party nor the trade union federation are affiliated with any international organization.

Communists Raided.—The government never repealed the drastic laws of suppression enacted during the World War. In 1929 it raided the headquarters of the Communist Party in Wellington and arrested several Communists.

NICARAGUA

Trade Unions Suppressed.—What seemed to be a promising beginning of real labor organization in Nicaragua in the Spring of 1925, when 20 union groups were represented at a conference in Managua and new rules were adopted to bring about a national federation, was nipped in the bud in the Fall of the same year, when General Emiliano Chamorro seized the government and a detachment of his constabulary destroyed the offices of the unions in Leon, their stronghold and drove the labor leaders out of the city. Then came the reign of President Adolfo Diaz, a tool of the United States government; the revolt, first headed by Dr. Juan B. Sacasa, and then by General Augusto Sandino; the imposition of American marine rule; and, finally, the election, under marine supervision, of President Jose Moncada in November, 1929, who holds his office mainly because of the continued presence of a substantial force of United States marines. The Federacion de Obreros Nicaraguense continues to be affiliated with the Pan-American Federation of Labor, but the long period of civil war and dictatorship apparently has reduced it to temporary impotency. Among eight men deported by President Moncada in October, 1929, charged with plotting against his government, was Solamon de la Selva, an active worker in the Pan-American Federation of Labor, which intervened in his behalf in Washington and obtained his admission to the United States. His "crime" appears to have consisted in having agitated against the Moncada candidates in the municipal elections.

NORWAY

Unions and Labor Party Continue Isolation.—Both the Federation of Labor and the Labor Party remain unaffiliated

internationally. At the January congress of the former it was decided, by a vote of 62 to 18, to postpone until 1930, action on a proposal for an agreement among the Russian, Finnish and Norwegian unions, drafted at a conference in Copenhagen, in February, 1928. Twelve of the delegates were members of the Communist Party. The congress rejected a resolution to affiliate with the League Against Imperialism, and decided to oppose vigorously the anti-strike laws of 1927, with 24-hour general strikes if necessary. One of the three Communist deputies left his party, after the split early in 1928. In the Spring its membership was estimated at 5,200, as against about 8,000 in July, 1927. The Norwegian Federation of Labor reported 106,182 members as of January 1, 1929, a gain of about 12,000 over the previous year.

PALESTINE

Union Demands of British Government.—At the fourth regular congress of the General Federation of Jewish Labor, affiliated with Amsterdam, held in January, 1929, where a membership of 21,302 was represented, certain demands were made upon the British government, which rules the country under a mandate from the League of Nations. The Federation accused it of doing nothing to improve working conditions and failing to enforce the few labor laws in existence; it demanded the establishment of a decent minimum wage as a basis for progress for both Jewish and Arab workers. Organization of Arab workers, which was begun by the Federation in a small way several years ago, received a serious set-back as a result of the bitterness following the race riots in August.

United Labor Party Born.—As a result of fusion of the Achduth Avodah and the Hapoel Hazair, the Palestine Jewish Labor Party was born in Tel Aviv in January, 1930. The new party will be affiliated with the Socialist International through Poale Zion, already a member of the international. It will advocate solidarity with the Arab workers. The laborites lost the city of Tel Aviv in the January, 1929, elections, after having had control for three years. They obtained only five out a total of 15 seats in the new council. In January, 1930, an Arab Labor Federation was organized in Haifa on racial lines.

Communist Position on Riots.—The tiny Communist Party, illegal since 1921, took advantage of the pogroms begun with the Wailing Wall clash of August 23, to try to rally the Arab masses to its standard, with the slogan of an Arab

Federation of Soviet States. It also defended the Arab rioters, discounted the racial and religious elements of the outbreak, and declared the riots to be the beginning of an uprising of the Arab workers and peasants against their native and Jewish exploiters and British imperialists. The Communist International upheld this position. The Palestine government continued its policy of jailing and deporting Communists through the year. The executive of the General Federation of Jewish Labor protested strongly on October 31, against the flogging of imprisoned Communists and demanded special treatment for political prisoners.

PANAMA

Laborite in Chamber.—Among the 46 members of the National Assembly one is classified as a laborite. The *Federacion Obrera de la Republica de Panama* is affiliated with the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

PARAGUAY

Martial Law.—President Guggiari induced Congress to sanction the declaration of martial law for 90 days in September, 1929, citing the alleged activities of Communist agitators. His excuse was not taken seriously in informed quarters. The probable reason for the president's action was dissatisfaction among a large number of the people with the proposed settlement of the border trouble with Bolivia.

There is a trade union federation, nationalistic in tendency, and another, somewhat syndicalistic in character.

PERU

Activities of Unions.—Despite the virtual dictatorship of President Augusto B. Leguia, largely in the interest of American investors, the labor organizations manage to survive and wage an occasional successful strike, especially in the printing and transportation industries. Affiliated with the Pan-American Federation of Labor are the *Centro Internacional Obrero del Peru*, the *Confederacion de Artesanos "Union Universal,"* and the *Asamblea de Sociedades Unidas*. There is a union of plantation and mining workers, nearly all Indians, called the *Federacion Indigena Obrera Regional Peruana*, said to be larger than the others, which has flirted with the Red International of Labor Unions. In October, 1929, a three-day strike of the miners of the Cerro de Pasco Copper Company, an American concern, in the Morococha district, was settled by a compromise of the workers' demands for higher pay, re-employment of discharged men, and other concessions.

POLAND

Union Growth Despite Split.—Despite the split engineered by labor supporters of Marshal Pilsudski in November, 1928, and internal dissension, the Polish Federation of Labor, affiliated with Amsterdam, reported a membership of 272,317 on January 1, 1929, the same as a year previous. Affiliation of the Enginemen's union, and the return of the bulk of the Chemical Workers' Union, which had seceded under Communist influence three years previously, raised the membership above the 300,000 mark. The June, 1929, convention of the Federation demanded real political freedom and far-reaching social legislation. The Bund, the organization of Jewish workers on the political and industrial fields, met in October, representing 22,353 members. It had won several strikes during the year, and established the 8-hour day in the Vilna tailor shops. Conventions were also held of the government-supported unions and the Polish Christian Textile Workers' Union, speaking for 97,000 and 22,974 members, respectively. Although the militant unions succeeded in raising wages slightly during the year, they still remained below the European average. There were numerous conflicts in textiles and mining, notorious for low pay and backward working conditions. On November 5, 1929, there was a 24-hour strike of the miners against the government's arbitration committee's limiting a wage increase in Upper Silesia to four percent, whereas it was 9 in other districts.

Socialists Block Dictatorship.—With only 54 deputies in a Chamber of 444, (nine had deserted in 1928 and formed a pro-Pilsudski party), the Polish Socialist Party played the leading role in 1929 in blocking the plans of the reaction to make Minister of War Joseph Pilsudski a real dictator instead of the uncertain one he had been since his coup d'état of May, 1926. Kasimir Bartel was compelled to resign on April 13, as a result of the crisis provoked by the introduction of the bill to practically abolish democracy, complicated by the graft charges against Gabriel Czechowicz, Minister of Finance. Kasimir Switalski, a former secretary of Pilsudski, became premier, and the militarists, big landlords and capitalists rejoiced in the hope that Pilsudski would now dissolve parliament by force. Ignace Daszynski, speaker of the lower house, a veteran Socialist leader and a close co-worker of Pilsudski when he was in the revolutionary movement, came out with a caustic criticism of the Minister of War. The Socialist Party issued an appeal to the masses to defend with

all their power their constitutional rights, ending with a dare to Pilsudski to employ violence. On June 18 and 19, it called enormous anti-dictatorship meetings in Warsaw and Lodz, at which Emile Vandervelde, president of the Socialist International, Paul Loebe and Arthur Crispian of Germany, and C. T. Cramp of England brought the greetings of international labor to the Polish workers and warned the government against destroying democracy. The Socialists lined up five other opposition parties with them in the Summer, and obtained 306 anti-dictatorship deputies, ready for action on October 31, when the Sejm was scheduled to open. It did not open, however, due to Speaker Daszynski's refusal to proceed in the presence of 100 army officers who said they had come to "protect the Minister of War." It opened on December 5. The following day it overthrew the Switalski cabinet by a vote of 246 to 120. On the 21st Kasimir Bartel returned as premier, and although he retained Pilsudski and most of the members of the Switalski cabinet, it was felt that the crisis was over and the display of strength of the Socialists and their allies had ended a possible régime of absolutism in Poland.

The struggle aided in consolidating Socialist forces. Following the unity congress of the German Socialists in Poland, October 5-6, at Lodz, which made the German Socialist Labor Party 10,000 strong with two deputies, there was a conference of delegates from the Polish, German, Jewish Socialists, and the Amsterdam Federation of Labor, at which a joint program of action was decided for defense of the working class.

Communists Hounded.—In the election of March, 1928, the Communists operated through the Workers' and Peasants' Party—the party as such is illegal—and elected 7 deputies. About 100 persons were sentenced to prison for terms ranging from two to 15 years on charges of Communist agitation or "treason," including Vladislav Baczynski, a Communist deputy, who received five years at hard labor. The Communists reported marked gains among the unions, especially in the Ukrainian districts, where they demand political autonomy.

PORTUGAL

Revival of Unions.—After having been practically wiped out by the military dictatorship of General Antonio Oscar Carmona, set up in July, 1926, the unions were reported as reviving last year. In Oporto, an old labor stronghold, the

unions of tobacco workers, goldsmiths and metal workers united into a federation, with the intention of affiliating with the Amsterdam International. Several new papers were launched in 1929. Before the dictatorship, there were about 30,000 members in a Syndicalist federation belonging to the International Workingmen's Association of Berlin, and about 10,000 in the Socialist-controlled unions. There were also some Communist bodies.

Socialist Party Reorganized.—With the unions the Socialist Party also suffered. It had two deputies in a Chamber of 161 before its headquarters were closed by the dictator in 1927. Last year the party was reorganized and began functioning again.

RUMANIA

Striking Miners Massacred.—Thirty-two miners were killed and 200 wounded on August 6, 1929, when troops at the Lupeni coal mines in Transylvania were ordered by Prefect Rozvan to fire upon strikers who had seized the electric power house, to force the company to consider their demands, and who had refused to disperse. The Socialist leader, Jakob Pistiner, charged the government, headed by Julius Maniu, with having sent two *agents provocateurs*, Munteanu, a former member of the secret police, the Siguranza, and Buciumanu, ex-secretary of the miners' union who had been expelled, to organize "yellow" unions, labelled "independent," and to call an illegal strike of the men who had impatiently been awaiting the inquiry promised by the Ministry of Labor. Pistiner declared that the Peasant Party's leaders sought control of the rich Lupeni mines, which were in the hands of Bratianu's capitalist supporters, political rivals and former rulers of Rumania. This aim was apparently achieved, for it was announced on October 29 that the cabinet would appoint a special commissioner to manage the mines. Dr. Pistiner's charges were not answered. The Ministry of Labor continued to assist in the organization of "yellow" unions, to aid the rising bourgeoisie dominating the Peasant Party to wrest control of the kingdom's main industries from the so-called Liberal Party and the Bratianu group. The government also suppressed the Communist unitary unions.

The Amsterdam Federation of Labor reported 26,783 members at the beginning of 1929. President Flueraș, a deputy, made a spirited address in the Chamber last Winter, demanding the immediate enforcement of the 8-hour day and the nationalization of the gold mines.

Socialists Demand Amnesty.—The nine Socialists, in a Chamber of 387, made their principal fight for a real amnesty for political prisoners, and effective labor legislation. The partial amnesty decree issued in May failed to free a number of Communist and Socialist prisoners, among them Mihai Gheorghe Bujor, a Socialist who had already served nine years of a 20-year sentence.

Communist Organizations Outlawed.—Hundreds of Communists, or alleged Communists, were arrested, especially in Bessarabia, where the government attempts to brand all Russians not satisfied with being Rumanian subjects, as Bolsheviki, and to label starving Jews as violent revolutionaries. In the early part of his régime Premier Maniu allowed the Communists comparative freedom of action, but when they, during the convention of the Communist-controlled unions, held a demonstration in Temesvar on April 7, over the burial of Johann Fonagy, a Communist leader who had died after being injured in jail, the troops fired upon them, and the premier used the bloody clash as an excuse for reducing their political and industrial organizations to their former state of illegality. Haya Lifschuetz, a Communist woman prisoner at Cluj, was freed on August 18, after a hunger strike of 40 days, but died the same day. G. M. Vasilescu-Vasia, secretary of the left-wing unions of Bucharest and a veteran Communist, died on March 18, of consumption contracted in jail. His funeral was the occasion for a demonstration marked by clashes with the police. Alexander Dobrogeanu Gherea, a Communist leader, sentenced on February 13, was freed by amnesty.

SALVADOR

Workers Being Unionized.—During the last few years considerable progress has been made in organizing the industrial workers, including many women in the textile mills and tobacco factories. In April, 1929, it was reported that a strike in the national tobacco factory had been settled to the satisfaction of both sides. On November 29 a dispatch told of a protest parade of 8,000 workers, most of them unionists, against the plan for the centralization of Central American diplomatic representation in South America, proposed by Nicaragua. The Union Obrera Salvadoreña and the Federación Regional de Trabajadores de El Salvador are affiliated with the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

SOUTH AFRICA

Difficulties of Unions.—Handicapped by complications of color and tactics, the organization of the white, black, and mixed-blood workers made but little if any progress in 1929. In 1928 there was a sharp decline in the membership of the native Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (affiliated with Amsterdam), as it reported only 40,000 on January 1, 1929, against 60,660 a year before. Dissatisfaction with the anti-Communist policy of Clements Kadalie, founder and secretary who resigned early in 1929, and the fact that some of the white unions had begun to admit colored (mixed-blood) and black workers, were partly responsible, as well as refusal of the government to register the body as a recognized labor organization. Again, the expelled native Communists held a conference in Johannesburg on September 1, 1929, and founded the South African Non-European Federation of Trade Unions. This body stands for unification of the movement on industrial and class lines, regardless of color, but advises the establishment of parallel unions for non-European workers where immediate unification is impractical. Its membership was put at 10,000, in eleven unions. The white federation, the South African Trade Union Congress, estimated to be about 25,000 strong, at its convention March 30-31, 1929, declared in favor of uniting workers of all colors in a single union, but added that if such was not practical at the moment, special branches for non-Europeans should be established, or parallel unions, if need be. A. A. Moore was reelected national chairman.

Labor Party Setback.—Following the split in the Labor Party in 1928, caused by Premier Hertzog's dismissal from his coalition Nationalist-Labor cabinet of W. B. Madley, Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, for having received a delegation of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union, the Laborites lost heavily in the elections of June 12, 1929, the number of their deputies in the lower house falling from 17 out of a total of 135, to 8 out of 148. Five, however, belong to a pro-Nationalist faction, and 3 to an anti-Nationalist government group. The absolute majority given Premier Hertzog means no extension of voting rights to the natives.

Communist Activity Among Natives.—In cooperation with J. V. Gumede, president of the African National Congress (a native organization), Communists helped persuade native workers at Durban to refuse to pay a \$5 poll tax and to agitate for freedom. Some 600 natives were arrested in

November and the government had an excellent pretext for demanding drastic legislation against all agitation.

SOVIET RUSSIA

Summary.—When the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics celebrated its twelfth anniversary on November 7, 1929, it claimed that it had made substantial progress on four important fronts during the preceding twelve months. At home it had liquidated the "left" opposition and had minimized the "right danger"; it was putting through the five-year industrial program ahead of schedule; it was making giant strides in the socialization of agriculture; and abroad, it had achieved important diplomatic victories. Accordingly, the optimistic statement of Joseph Stalin, secretary of the central committee of the Communist Party, and the outstanding leader, ended as follows:

Lenin said that if the peasants could be supplied with 100,000 tractors, the middle peasants would join the cause of Communism. The past year has shown that the party is successfully advancing toward this objective. It is well known that in the Spring of 1930 we shall have more than 60,000 tractors, one year later more than 100,000, and two years after that 250,000. What a few years ago was looked upon as fantastic can now be realized and even surpassed. That is the reason why the middle peasants have turned to Communism. All this shows that we are going full steam ahead to Socialism on the path of industrialization, and are leaving our century-old backwardness behind us. We shall become a metal producing country, a country of automobiles and tractors. Then let the capitalists who boast of their civilization try to catch up with us. Then we shall see which countries are backward and which are progressive.

Grain Production.—Preliminary figures put the grain crop of 1929 at 76,250,000 metric tons, against 73,580,000 tons in 1928, and 78,380,000 in 1926, an extra good year. But whereas in 1928 the collectives and socialized farms produced only 2.5 percent of the total crop, last year they supplied about 5.5 percent, and in 1930, if the program of expansion is realized, they will produce at least 13.5 percent of the estimated total of 88,000,000 tons. The increased output of the state and collective farms helped account for the fact that by December 1, 1929, the government had collected 12,810,000 of the 13,923,000 tons it had set as its objective for the year 1929-1930, and that the collections had been completed before January 1. The state and collective farms supplied more than 2,100,000 tons. As a contrast, between July 1, 1928, and June 30, 1929, collections totaled only 9,418,000 tons and the government agents were busy making purchases throughout the year. The better collections enabled the government to re-

place the 1,500,000 tons of grain it had borrowed from the army reserve and to lay up a good-sized surplus for export, besides feeding the industrial population. But it retained the system of rationing foodstuffs and other necessities, introduced early in 1929, because, it explained, although the bread allowances were being increased everywhere the system itself would be useful in holding down prices and preventing speculation.

In the course of their determined campaign to extend state farms and collectives, the Soviet authorities encountered stout resistance on the part of the richer peasants (kulaks) and many of the latter were executed or imprisoned. The exodus from the country of thousands of German-Russian farmers from the Volga Republic was partly due to their opposition to the socialization plan.

Industrial Output.—The first year of the "Five-Year Plan" which ended September 30, 1929 (the fiscal year begins October 1, and ends September 30), showed new high records of production in almost all the main industries. The following table gives comparative figures for pre-war (1913) and the last three years, in metric tons:

Production of Manufactures and Mining

<i>Industry</i>	<i>1929</i>	<i>1928</i>	<i>1927</i>	<i>1913</i>
Coal	40,600,000	35,400,000	32,018,100	29,053,100
Iron Ore	7,100,000	6,000,000	4,802,200	9,214,600
Pig Iron	4,100,000	3,281,000	2,961,300	4,216,300
Steel	4,800,000	4,156,000	3,591,600	4,246,900
Rolled Steel	3,700,000	3,277,000	2,743,500	3,508,700
Petroleum	13,700,000	11,700,000	10,344,000	9,234,900
Cotton Yarn	352,700	322,200	274,500	274,800
Shoes (pairs)	40,800,000	23,600,000	15,279,000	5,500,000
Rubber Overshoes (pairs)	42,400,000	36,300,000	29,631,000	27,885,000

Foreign Trade.—Compared with an unfavorable balance of 166,856,000 rubles the preceding year, the Soviet Union closed last year with a favorable surplus of exports over imports of 47,834,000 rubles. Exports totaled 877,737,000 rubles and imports 829,903,000, against 777,849,000 and 944,705,000 respectively, in 1927-1928. In 1913 exports totaled 1½ billion rubles, and imports 1,140,000,000. The value of industrial exports rose from 394,634,000 rubles in 1927-1928, to 506,710,000 in 1928-1929, but that of agricultural products declined from 383,215,000 to 371,027,000, due to a drop in the export of grain and furs. The value of petroleum exports was 132,614,000 last year, against 107,020,000 the previous year, while that of lumber rose from 93,907,000 to 137,154,000 and coal jumped from 4,420,000 rubles to 9,953,000.

Trade with the United States continued to grow during the last fiscal year. Purchases (not necessarily delivered during the year) reported by the Amtorg, the Soviet trading agency, amounted to \$109,000,000, and sales to this country to \$40,000,000, as compared with \$91,230,000 and \$22,000,000 the year before. Germany, however, was Soviet Russia's best customer, as the year before, buying to the amount of 208,537,000 rubles. Great Britain's imports were worth 192,503,000 rubles.

Budget.—The budget for 1929-1930 is 43 percent more than the year before, and calls for expenditures of 11,621,100,000 rubles, of which about seven billions are assigned for the development of industry, and two and one-half billions for social-cultural requirements. About half of the budget is to be raised by taxation and the rest is to come from the profits of state industries. Public debt was 2,547,000,000 rubles on October 1, compared with 1,300,000,000 the year before. On November 18 it was announced that the state was to raise a loan of 125,000,000 rubles for industrial purposes. Three days later the currency in circulation was reported as 2,912,000,000 rubles, against only 1,740,000,000 on October 1, 1928. On December 16 the total assets of the Issue Department of the State Bank amounted to 1,158,000,000 rubles. Deposits in the State Savings Banks totaled 536,978,000 rubles on November 1, and depositors numbered 7,698,707.

A tightening up of the Soviet attitude toward foreign concessionaires was indicated in a speech delivered by Premier Rykof on November 29, in which he said, "We want capital, not capitalists," and reported the recent liquidation of a number of foreign concessions. The Soviet authorities intend to get the services of foreign technical experts and administrators by hiring them, and will continue to grant concessions to very large concerns able to invest considerable sums. On December 21 the concession held by the Hammer Pencil Manufacturing Company, a highly successful enterprise founded by New Yorkers, was reported turned over to the government in consideration of 500,000 rubles in foreign currency.

Wages and Hours.—The average industrial monthly wage in the Soviet Union in 1928-1929, was given as 73.4 rubles, compared with 67.5 in the preceding fiscal year, and the number of workers in enterprises under the Supreme Economic Council as 2,134,710, against 1,989,960 (seasonal workers not included) in 1927-1928. Unemployed workers registered in May numbered 1,593,600, against 1,772,500 in April, and 1,571,-

060 in May, 1928. The cost of living rose about six percent from October 1, 1928, to April 1, 1929. About one-half million workers were on the 7-hour working day last year. The annual labor time will be cut still further under the system promulgated on September 29, 1929, dividing the month into six five-day weeks, with one rest day each week, and keeping the plants going every day. Various decrees issued during the year by the Soviet authorities, with the approval of the Communist Party leaders and the trade union officials, tightened up discipline in the factories in the interest of efficiency and at the cost of the workers' freedom of action. One of the reasons held responsible for the removal of Mikhail Tomskey as head of the unions was his opposition to the turning of the labor organizations, with their more than 11,000,000 members, into part of the government apparatus.

International Relations.—The Soviet Union compelled the Chinese government to respect its rights, secured recognition from Great Britain, and created a friendlier atmosphere with the United States, during the past year.

The Chinese authorities raided the Soviet Consulate in Harbin on May 27, arrested 38 Russians, charged them with Communist propaganda against China, and subsequently sentenced 37 of them to jail terms from two to nine years. On July 9 they seized the Chinese Eastern Railway (operated under joint Sino-Russian management according to a treaty of 1924), ousted the Russian manager, and arrested many Russian employes. Diplomatic protests by Maxim Litvinof, Acting Commissar for Foreign Affairs, failing to effect a return to the status quo ante, the Soviet Russian government resorted to force. For several months there was a state of semi-warfare along the frontier which cost the lives of hundreds of Chinese and a few Russians. When the Chinese government realized that none of the great powers was disposed to back it up, it signed an agreement dictated by Soviet Russia, except that a new Russian manager of the railway replaced the one it had accused of Communist propaganda. When Secretary of State Stimson reminded Moscow of its obligations under the Kellogg Peace Pact, just when the settlement was being negotiated, Litvinof practically told him it was no concern of his.

Diplomatic relations, broken off under the Tory régime, were resumed, soon after the Labor Government took office in Great Britain, with both parties promising not to carry on hostile propaganda in each other's domains. Gregory Sokolnikof presented his credentials as ambassador on De-

ember 20, while Sir Esmond Ovey handed his in Moscow the following day. In December the Russo-Turkish treaty was renewed for two years.

Although there was no change by the United States government, there was a friendlier atmosphere in the country, with the Hoover administration showing signs of recognizing facts and removing any handicap upon Russo-American trade imposed by lack of official recognition. The reception accorded to the four Russian aviators, headed by Simeon Shestakof, who landed in New York on November 1, after having overcome all sorts of difficulties on their way from Moscow on August 23, and the quick response by the Soviet authorities to the appeal for aid in finding Eielson and Borland, American fliers lost in the Arctic, helped to create these friendlier relations. More Russian trade delegations than ever visited the United States, and many American experts, business men and tourists were welcomed in Soviet Russia.

"Left" and "Right" Oppositions.—Against the objections of Rykof, Radek, Bukharin and Tomsky, the Polit Bureau, the highest official party body, decided on January 30 to remove Leon Trotsky, the leader of the "Left" opposition, from his place of forced residence in Siberia and exile him to Turkey. The former commander of the Red Army, with his wife and two of their children arrived in Constantinople on February 12, and has remained there, his application for admission to a number of European countries having been rejected. Stalin and his followers, after they had exiled Trotsky, proceeded to swing sharply to the left, in their emphasis on the danger of war and the inevitability of world revolution in the "third period," in their extermination of the kulaks, their effort to speed up the socialization of agriculture and the tempo of industry, and in their attack upon the "right wing." By means of severe warnings or demotions the "Stalinities" compelled the leaders of the "right wing," Tomsky, Rykof, Bukharin, and others, either to acknowledge their mistakes or remain quiescent. A number of "Trotskyites" also recanted. The internal divisions in the Communist Party of Russia were reflected in splits and struggles in practically all the parties of the Communist International. The label "right danger" was put upon practically every oppositionist, regardless of his attitude. In the official figures of November 19 the membership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was given as 1,655,000, after a "housecleaning" that caused the expulsion of about 200,000.

Socialists in Prison.—Working underground inside, and openly abroad, the Socialist opposition continued its activities, and many of its followers were added to the already large army of "politicals" in Siberian prison camps or on the Solovetsky Isles in the White Sea. Raphael Abramovitch, head of the foreign delegation of the Social Democratic Labor Party, came to the United States at the beginning of 1930, and asserted that there had been 500 executions in Soviet Russia during the preceding six weeks, and that the number of political prisoners and exiles was between 75,000 and 100,000. He estimated the number of unemployed as 7,000,000, of whom 2,000,000 were industrial workers and the rest peasants. The Social Revolutionary Party maintains headquarters in Prague, from whence it directs underground propaganda in Soviet Russia. Both opposition Socialist groups demand freedom of political action within the Soviet Union.

SPAIN

Unions Rebuke Dictator.—In an effort to make his régime more palatable, Primo de Rivera, dictator since September, 1923, had proposed a new constitution and the setting up of a new national assembly, in which the trade union federation, affiliated with Amsterdam, was to have five representatives. The General Union of Workers, through its national committee meeting in August, however, voted overwhelmingly against collaboration with the dictator, and with the cooperation of the Socialist Party, issued a manifesto to the Spanish people, condemning the proposed constitution and calling for the eventual establishment of a republic. It also embodied the federation's goal: the socialization of the country's resources. At the beginning of 1929 it reported 221,000 members, and celebrated May Day in force. The syndicalistic and anarchistic unions of Barcelona and the few Communist labor groups have suffered a great deal more from the dictatorship than the Socialist unions.

Socialist Party Gains.—The secretary, A. Saborit, reported steady growth in all parts of the country, with many members of the "intelligentsia" joining the workers in opposition to the dictatorship. Gregorio Marañón, youngest member of the Spanish Academy of Medicine, and one of the physicians of the royal family, created a sensation in August, by lauding the work of the party and predicted the day when it would take power.

Communists Outlawed.—The third congress of the Communist Party was held secretly, as the party is illegal.

SWEDEN

Union Gains.—After having increased its membership by 31,435 in 1928, bringing it up to 469,409 on January 1, 1929, the Swedish federation affiliated with Amsterdam, made rapid strides in the past year and probably crossed the half-million mark. Some of the new members came from the Syndicalist Union, following its rejection of amalgamation with the Amsterdam body. On January 1, 1929, it had about 19,000, a loss of 17,000 during 1928. At the April meeting of the general council of the Federation the ban was put upon members joining the Communist Trade Union Unity Committee, organized in January. In July the Swedish Iron Miners voted to end a reciprocity agreement with the Russian Miners' Union, and replaced Communist members of the executive committee with Socialists. Comparative industrial peace prevailed in 1929, largely due to long-term agreements signed in the turbulent preceding year.

Communist Split.—After having weathered the crises created by the secession of Zeta Hoegland and his followers in 1924, and having increased its deputies in the lower house from five to 8 in the 1928 elections, and built up its membership to about 18,000, the Communist Party was again split last year. Karl Kilboom and M. Flug, Communist deputies, were expelled for refusing to wage more vigorous war upon Swedish capitalism, and particularly, upon the Socialists. Together with other Communist leaders, they seized possession of the main party paper, the Stockholm *Folkets Dagblad Politiken*, following their expulsion in October, and prepared the ground for an independent Communist Party. The regular party met in December, with a membership of 8,000. The Young Communist League claimed 12,000 members.

The Social Democratic Party, with 90 of the 230 deputies in the lower house, and 52 of the 150 in the upper, backed by a powerful organization, continued its activities, hopeful of assimilating recruits from the expelled Communist groups.

SWITZERLAND

Wage Increase.—The Amsterdam Federation of Labor, working closely with the Socialist parliamentarians, succeeded in winning a material wage increase for the personnel of the state railways and postal service last October. On January 1, 1929, its membership was 176,438, an increase of 10,746 over the previous year; it had gained 12,000 members in 1927 also.

Socialists Fail to Win Cabinet Seat.—By a vote of 324 to 137 the Social Democratic Party's congress of November 30-December 1, 1929, decided to present a candidate for one of the two seats on the Federal Council of seven (the actual government of the Confederation). The resolution declared that the party would not modify its program (which stresses the class struggle and calls for a dictatorship of the proletariat under certain circumstances) to obtain the support of other parties for its candidate, Dr. Emil Kloefer, Mayor of Zurich. He failed at the December 12 election to receive more than a dozen bourgeois deputies' votes, in addition to the 50 Socialists in the National Council of 198 members. The convention also reiterated the stand of the party against military appropriations. Numerous local victories during the year were capped by success at Berne, the capital, on December 15, when, in the election for one-half of the 80 aldermen, the Socialists captured 21 seats, making their total 41, against 39 for the opposition. The Socialist Women's Federation took a leading part in gathering 248,000 signatures to a petition for votes for women presented to the Federal Council on June 6. Eugene Dietzgen, popularizer of the works of his father, Joseph Dietzgen, the great philosopher, died in Zurich on December 1, aged 67. Karl Kautsky delivered the funeral oration.

Communists Active.—In March the Communist anti-Fascist demonstrations so worried the government that troops were used to guard consulates and public buildings. In June, Secretary Scherer of the Building Workers' Union and a member of the central committee of the Communist Party, together with eleven other strikers, was sent to jail as the result of clashes with the police and strike-breakers.

URUGUAY

Founding of Federation.—Communist efforts to unite the Syndicalist, Socialist, Anarchist and Communist labor organizations resulted in the formation of the Uruguayan General Unity Confederation of Labor. It was in the name of this body that delegate Barcaicoa welcomed the organizing congress of the Communist-controlled Latin American Federation of Trade Unions, held in the Communist stronghold of Montevideo, in May, 1929. Hitherto most of the 8,000 organized workers belonged to semi-anarchist unions, affiliated with the Berlin Syndicalist International.

Communist and Socialist Parties.—In the split of 1920 the Communists captured the Socialist Party, affiliated it with the Communist International and held the party daily,

Justicia. In Montevideo their vote in 1925 was 4,009, but only 2,593 a year later. The Socialists received 1,794 in the entire country in 1925, and did not run candidates in 1926. Emilio Frugoni, Socialist Deputy, however, reported that his party had recently made rapid progress, and made gains in the latest elections of November, 1928. The Communist Party expelled one of their two deputies, Celstino Mibelli, in June, 1927.

VENEZUELA

Relations of Unions to Dictatorship.—During 1929 the Federacion Obrera de Venezuela of Caracas became formally affiliated with the Pan-American Federation of Labor, with which the Union Obrera Venezolana, an organization of Venezuelan workers living abroad, mostly in the United States, had been united for several years. In some quarters this move by an organization held to be under the control of Juan Vicente Gomez, the dictator, now exercising his power under the title of commander-in-chief of the army, with a puppet president, was regarded as an attempt by Gomez to make peace with organized labor abroad in order to have his hands free to put down the revolutionary movement that had been menacing his régime for some time. In 1927 the head of the Federacion Obrera de Venezuela protested sharply to President Green because the Washington convention of the Pan-American Federation of Labor of that year had admitted delegates of the Union Obrera Venezolana and had authorized Green to write Gomez, demanding freedom of association for the workers of Venezuela, and the restoration of constitutional rights in that country.

YUGOSLAVIA

Reign of Terror.—Under the military dictatorship established by King Alexander on January 6, 1929, all political parties were dissolved and the labor unions suspended. Special terrorism was waged against the Communists, or alleged Communists—in many cases the dictatorship put the Communist label upon Croats or any other persons not satisfied with the new régime. At least a dozen Communist leaders, including Diuro Diakovitch, organizing secretary of the Communist Party, and Niko Hetchimovitch, secretary of the Red Aid, were killed by the police, and hundreds beaten and imprisoned. In October the secret sessions of the enlarged plenum of the party expelled one leader and called upon its followers to wage war upon "right" tendencies.

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III. STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS

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V. LABOR LEGISLATION

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XII. LABOR ABROAD

Australia

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China

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India

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XIV. INTERNATIONAL LABOR DIRECTORY

I. LABOR UNIONS

International

General International Federations

- International Federation of Trade Unions: Joh. Sassenbach, Tesselschadestraat 31, Amsterdam, Netherlands.
Red International of Labor Unions: A. Losovsky, Dvoretz Truda, Salianka 12, Moscow, Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.
International Federation of Christian Trade Unions: P. J. Serrarens, Drift 10-12, Utrecht, Netherlands.
International Workingmen's Association: Fritz Kater, Kopernikusstrasse 25, Berlin O. 34, Germany.
Pan-American Federation of Labor: Santiago Iglesias, American Federation of Labor Building, Washington, D. C.

United States

American Federation of Labor and Affiliated Organizations

- American Federation of Labor: Frank Morrison, American Federation of Labor Building, 9th Street and Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D. C.

Departments

- Building Trades Department: William J. Spencer, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Metal Trades Department: John P. Frey, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Railroad Employees' Department: James M. Burns, 844 Rush Street, Chicago, Ill.
Union Label Trades Department: John J. Manning, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.

A. F. of L. National Unions

- Actors and Artists of America, Associated: Paul D. Dullzell, 45 West 47th Street, New York, N. Y.
Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and: Thomas J. McNamara, 803 United Home Building, St. Louis, Mo.
Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America: Charles F. Hohmann, 2719 Best Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Barbers' International Union, Journeymen: 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of: William McCarthy, Room 821, Longacre Building, 42nd Street and Broadway, New York, N. Y.
Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of: Wm. F. Kramer, 2922 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of: Charles F. Scott, Suite 524, Brotherhood Block, Kansas City, Kan.
Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of: Felix J. Belair, Room 308, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.

- Boot and Shoe Workers' Union: C. L. Baine, 246 Summer Street, Boston, Mass.
 Brewery, Flour, Cereal, and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United: 2347-49-51 Vine Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
 Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United: William Tracy, Room 440, 323-331 South La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill.
 Bricklayers', Masons', and Plasters' International Union of America: John J. Gleeson, 1417 K. Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
 Bridge, Structural, and Ornamental Iron Workers, International Association of: W. J. McCain, 1615-20 Syndicate Trust Building, St. Louis, Mo.
 Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, International: Will R. Boyer, 853 King Place, Chicago, Ill.
 Building Service Employees' International Union: Paul David, 130 North Wells Street, Chicago, Ill.
 Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of: Frank Duffy, Carpenters' Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
 Cigarmakers' International Union of America: Ira M. Ornburn, Carpenters' Building, Washington, D. C.
 Cloth Hat, Cap, and Millinery Workers' International Union: J. Roberts, 621 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
 Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car: W. O. Murphy, 107 W. Linwood Boulevard, Kansas City, Mo.
 Coopers' International Union of North America: James T. Doyle, 615 South Street, Roslindale, Mass.
 Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America: Andries Meyer, 132 Joralemon Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of: G. M. Bugniatet, 1200 15th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.
 Elevator Constructors, International Union of: Joseph F. Murphy, 191 Joralemon Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Federal Employees, National Federation of: Gertrude M. McNally, 10 B Street, S. W., Washington, D. C.
 Fire Fighters, International Association of: George J. Richardson, 105-6 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
 Fireman and Oilers, International Brotherhood of Stationary: 3615 North 24th Street, Omaha, Neb.
 Foundry Employees, International Brotherhood of: Leonard Holtschult, 218½ N. Tremont Street, Kewanee, Ill.
 Fur Workers' Union of United States and Canada, International: Morris Kaufman, 9 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City, N. Y.
 Garment Workers of America, United: J. L. Wines, 619-628 Bible House, New York, N. Y.
 Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada: Harry Jenkins, Rooms 1006-8, Colonial Trust Company Building, 13th and Market Streets, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Glass Cutters and Flatteners' Association of America, Window: Joseph L. Fortune, Rooms 215-19 House Building, Smithfield and Water Streets, Pittsburgh, Pa.
 Glass Cutters' League of America, Window: Harry D. Nixon, 512 Atlas Building, Columbus, Ohio.
 Glass Workers' Union, American Flint: Charles J. Shipman, Rooms 200-10 American Bank Building, Toledo, Ohio.
 Glove Workers' Union of America, International: Elisabeth Christman, 311 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
 Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The: Sam Squibb, 25 School Street, Quincy, 69, Mass.
 Hatters of North America, United: Martin Lawler, Room 418, Bible House, New York, N. Y.

- Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International: A. Persion, 25 School Street, Quincy, 69, Mass.
- Horse Shoers of United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen: Hubert S. Marshall, Room 605, Second National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance: Robert B. Hesketh, 530 Walnut Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of: David J. Davis, 500 South Main Street, W. E., Pittsburgh, Pa.
- Jewelry Workers' Union, International: Samuel E. Beardsley, Room 607, 112-118 W. 44th Street, New York, N. Y.
- Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, International: David Dubinsky, 3 West 16th Street, New York, N. Y.
- Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal: Lathers' Building, Detroit Avenue and West 26th Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
- Laundry Workers' International Union: Harry L. Morrison, 799 Second Avenue, Troy, N. Y.
- Leather Workers, United, International Union: J. J. Pfeiffer, Walsix Building, Sixth and Walnut Streets, Kansas City, Mo.
- Letter Carriers, National Association of: M. T. Finnan, 405 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
- Letter Carriers, National Federation of Rural: George F. Klinker, Lafayette, Ind.
- Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada: James M. O'Connor, 205 West 14th Street, New York, N. Y.
- Longshoremen's Association, International: John J. Joyce, 1020 Gerrans Building, Buffalo, N. Y.
- Machinists, International Association of: E. C. Davison, Machinists' Building, Ninth Street and Mount Vernon Place, Washington, D. C.
- Maintenance of Way Employees and Railway Shop Laborers, United Brotherhood of: E. E. Milliman, 61 Putnam Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
- Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters' Helpers, International Association of: Stephen C. Hogan, 406 East 149th Street, New York, N. Y.
- Masters, Mates and Pilots of North America, National Organization: John J. Scully, 24 Moore Street, New York, N. Y.
- Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated: Dennis Lane, 160 North La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill.
- Metal Engravers' International Union: John Joos, 118 Middlesex Road, Rochester, N. Y.
- Metal Polishers' International Union: W. W. Britton, 2nd National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, International Union of: Edward E. Sweeney, Judge Building, Salt Lake City, Utah.
- Mine Workers of America, United: Thomas Kennedy, 1101-8 Merchants' Bank Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
- Molders' Union of North America, International: N. D. Smith, 530 Walnut Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- Musicians, American Federation of: William Kerngood, 239-241 Halsey Street, Newark, N. J.
- Oil Field, Gas, Well and Refinery Workers of America: J. L. Coulter, Box 1779, Fort Worth, Tex.
- Operating Engineers, International Union of: David Evans, 1003 K Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

- Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of: Clarence E. Swick, Painters' and Decorators' Building, Lafayette, Ind.
- Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of: Arthur Hug-gins, 25 South Hawk Street, Albany, N. Y.
- Pattern Makers' League of North America: James Wilson, Rooms 1008-9, Second National Bank Building, Ninth and Main Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- Pavers, Rammers, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, International Union of: Edward I. Hannah, 819 Third Avenue, New York, N. Y.
- Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada: Albert M. Anderson, Box 130, Rockport, Mass.
- Photo-Engravers' Union of North America, International: Henry F. Schmal, Tower Grove Bank Building, 3136 South Grand Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.
- Piano and Organ Workers' Union of America, International: Jacob Fischer, 260 East 138th Street, New York, N. Y.
- Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative: T. A. Scully, Castell Building, Middletown, Ohio.
- Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of: Thomas E. Burke, 1138 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.
- Post Office Clerks, National Federation of: Thomas F. Flaherty, 300 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
- Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative: John McGil-livray, Box 6, East Liverpool, Ohio.
- Powder and High Explosive Workers of America, United: Geo. W. Hawkins, Columbus, Kan.
- Printers' and Die Stampers' Union of North America, International Plate: James E. Goodyear, 3974 Amundson Avenue, New York, N. Y.
- Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America, International: Joseph C. Orr, Pressmen's Home, Tenn.
- Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of: John P. Burke, Post Office Drawer V., Fort Edward, N. Y.
- Quarry Workers' International Union of North America: Fred W. Sutor, Scampini Building, Barre, Vt.
- Railroad Telegraphers, Order of: Leonard Jackson Ross, 3673 West Pine Boulevard, St. Louis, Mo.
- Railway Carmen of America, Brotherhood of: J. M. Ellis, Carmen's Building, Kansas City, Mo.
- Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees, Brotherhood of: George S. Levi, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks' Building, Court and Vine Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- Railway Mail Association: H. W. Strickland, Rooms 506-8, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
- Retail Clerks' International Protective Association: C. C. Coulter, Lock Drawer 248, Lafayette, Ind.
- Roofers, Damp, and Waterproof Workers' Association, United Slate, Tile and Composition: Joseph M. Gavlak, 3091 Coleridge Road, Cleveland, Ohio.
- Seamen's Union of America, International: Victor A. Olander, 623 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
- Sheet Metal Workers' International Association: W. M. O'Brien, 642 Transportation Building, Washington, D. C.
- Siderographers, International Association of: D. W. McCallum, 513 Crittenden Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
- Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International: Charles A. Sumner, 3110 Olive Street, Kansas City, Mo.
- Stonecutters' Association of North America, Journeymen: Joseph Blasey, Box 767, Indianapolis, Ind.

- Stove Mounters' International Union: Frank Grimshaw, 6466 East Jefferson Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
- Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of: W. D. Mahon, 260 East High Street, Detroit, Mich.
- Switchmen's Union of North America: J. M. Perry, 3 Linwood Avenue, Buffalo, N. Y.
- Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen: Gust Soderberg, 6753 Stony Island Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
- Teachers, American Federation of: Florence Curtis Hanson, Room 526, 506 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
- Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of: Thomas L. Hughes, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
- Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of: C. L. Rosemund, 200 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
- Telegraphers' Union of America, Commercial: W. L. Allen, 13 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
- Textile Workers of North America, United: James Starr, Room 605 Bible House, New York, N. Y.
- Theatrical Stage Employees of America, International Alliance of: Richard J. Green, 1440 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
- Tobacco Workers' International Union: E. Lewis Evans, Rooms 50-53, Our Home Life Insurance Building, Louisville, Ky.
- Typographical Union, International: Woodruff Randolph, Meridian and 28th Streets, Indianapolis, Ind.
- Upholsterers' International Union of North America: William Kohn, 230 East 58th Street, New York, N. Y.
- Wall Paper Crafts of North America, United: Edwin Gentzler, 727 West King Street, York, Pa.
- Wire Weavers' Protective Association, American: Charles C. Bradley, 9122 89th Street, Woodhaven, Long Island, N. Y.
- Wood Carvers' Association of North America, International: Frank Detlef, 8605 85th Street, Woodhaven, Long Island, N. Y.

A. F. of L. State Federations of Labor

- Alabama: G. M. Griffin, 910 Farley Building, Birmingham.
- Arizona: B. P. Carpenter, Box 463, Phoenix.
- Arkansas: H. M. Thackrey, Labor Temple, 519 Scott Street, Little Rock.
- California: Paul Scharrenberg, Underwood Building, 525 Market Street, San Francisco.
- Colorado: John E. Gross, Box 1408, Denver.
- Connecticut: John J. Egan, 847 Main Street, Bridgeport.
- Delaware: Fred W. Stierle, Box 592, Wilmington.
- Florida: F. Kirby Clarke, 1827 N. W. Third Street, Miami.
- Georgia: Louie P. Marquardt, Box 2119, Atlanta.
- Idaho: J. A. Knowles, 150 Taft Avenue, Pocatello.
- Illinois: Victor A. Olander, 623 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago.
- Indiana: Adolph J. Fritz, 605 People's Bank Building, Indianapolis.
- Iowa: M. E. Sherman, 806 Observatory Building, Des Moines.
- Kansas: William Howe, Box 75, Kansas City.
- Kentucky: Peter J. Campbell, 301 Labor Temple, Louisville.
- Louisiana: Charles W. Swallow, 202 Sinclair Building, Shreveport.
- Maine: Howard C. Woodside, 44 C Street, South Portland.
- Maryland-District of Columbia: Frank Coleman, 414 Washington Loan and Trust Building, Washington, D. C.

INDEPENDENT GENERAL ORGANIZATIONS 277

- Massachusetts: Martin T. Joyce, Room 819, Lawyers Building, 11 Beacon Street, Boston, 9.
Michigan: John J. Scannell, 1586 Dickerson Avenue, Detroit.
Minnesota: George W. Lawson, Labor Temple, 406 North Franklin Street, St. Paul.
Mississippi: R. C. White, 522 East Capitol Street, Jackson.
Missouri: George R. Patterson, 856 Planters' Building, St. Louis.
Montana: Stephen Ely, Room 17, Montana Building, Helena.
Nebraska: G. Lawson, Labor Temple, Omaha.
Nevada: Lillie B. Clinedinst, 627 W. 9th Street, Reno.
New Hampshire: S. W. Green, 79 South Street, Concord.
New Jersey: Hugh V. Reilly, 41 Franklin Street, Newark.
New Mexico: L. M. Thompson, 313 San Francisco Street, Santa Fe.
New York: John M. O'Hanlon, 25 South Hawk Street, Albany.
North Carolina: C. G. Worley, Box 925, Asheville.
North Dakota: Charles G. Johnson, Box 299, Grand Forks.
Ohio: Thomas J. Donnelly, Rooms 320-321, Atlas Bldg., Columbus.
Oklahoma: Victor S. Purdy, 515½ West Main Street, Oklahoma City.
Oregon: Ben T. Osborne, Labor Temple, 4th and Jefferson Streets, Portland.
Pennsylvania: James E. Kelley, 430 North Street, Harrisburg.
Porto Rico: Free Federation of Workingmen: Rafael Alonso, Box 270, San Juan.
Rhode Island: Henry M. Donnelly, 37 Weybosset Street, Providence.
South Carolina: F. E. Hatchell, 2323 Lady Street, Columbia.
South Dakota: Theodore Reise, 523 South Montana Street, Mitchell.
Tennessee: W. C. Birthright, 207 Polk Avenue, Nashville.
Texas: George H. Slater, Labor Temple, Dallas.
Utah: Miss Mae Gibbs, Labor Temple, Salt Lake City.
Vermont: Fred W. Suitor, Scampini Building, Barre.
Virginia: E. J. Shave, 258 Chapel Street, Hampton.
Washington: James A. Taylor, 508 Maynard Building, Seattle.
West Virginia: C. L. Jarrett, Box 138, Charleston.
Wisconsin: J. J. Handley, 516 Metropolitan Block, Milwaukee.
Wyoming: Paul O'Brien, Drawer 892, Cheyenne.

A. F. of L. Fraternal Organizations

- National Women's Trade Union League: Elizabeth Christman, 311 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
Women's International Union League: Mrs. Anna B. Field, Citizens State Bank Building, Elwood, Ind.

Independent General Organizations

- Conference for Progressive Labor Action: Leonard Bright, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
Industrial Union League: Sam Brandon, 953 Southern Blvd., Bronx, N. Y.
Industrial Workers of the World: 555 West Lake Street, Chicago, Ill.
Trade Union Unity League: William Z. Foster, 2 W. 15th Street, New York, N. Y.

Independent Trade Unions

- Carpenters and Joiners, Amalgamated Society of: H. Porter, 74 Bible House, New York City.
- Clothing Workers of America, Amalgamated, Joseph Schlossberg, 11 Union Square, New York, N. Y.
- Food Workers, Amalgamated: August Burkhardt, 799 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
- Locomotive Engineers, Brotherhood of: James H. Cassell, B. of L. E. Building, Cleveland, Ohio.
- Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, Brotherhood of: A. W. Hawley, 901 Guardian Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio.
- Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association, National: Albert L. Jones, 313 Machinists' Building, Washington, D. C.
- Miners' Union, National: Room 410, 119 Federal Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.
- Needle Trades Workers' Industrial Union, 16 West 21st Street, New York, N. Y.
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- Communist International: Mokhovaia 16, Moscow, Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.
- Young Communist International: Ikkim Mokhovaia 16, Moscow, Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.
- Jewish Socialist Labor Federation (Poale Zion): B. Locker, Blumauergasse 1, Vienna II, Austria.

United States

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- Young People's Socialist League, Frank Manning, 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
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- Communist Party of the U. S. A. (Majority Group): 37 East 28th Street, New York, N. Y.
- Communist League of America (Opposition): 25 Third Avenue, New York, N. Y.
- Young Communist League: 33 East 125th Street, New York, N. Y.
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Work People's College: Box 39, Morgan Park Station, Duluth, Minn.
Workers' Education Bureau of America: Spencer Miller, Jr., 476 West 24th Street, New York, N. Y.
Workers' School (Communist Party): 28 Union Square, New York, N. Y.

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American Civil Liberties Union: Forrest Bailey, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
Cooperative League of the United States of America: 167 West 12th Street, New York, N. Y.
General Defense Committee (I. W. W.): 555 West Lake Street, Chicago, Ill.
International Committee for Political Prisoners: 70 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
International Labor Defense: 799 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People: James Weldon Johnson, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
National Child Labor Committee: Wiley H. Swift, 215 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
National Consumers' League: Florence Kelley, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
National Mooney-Billings Committee: Henry T. Hunt, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
Sacco-Vanzetti National League: Room 2008, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York.
Tom Mooney Molders Defense Committee: Mary E. Gallagher, Box 1475, San Francisco, Calif.
Workers' International Relief: 799 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

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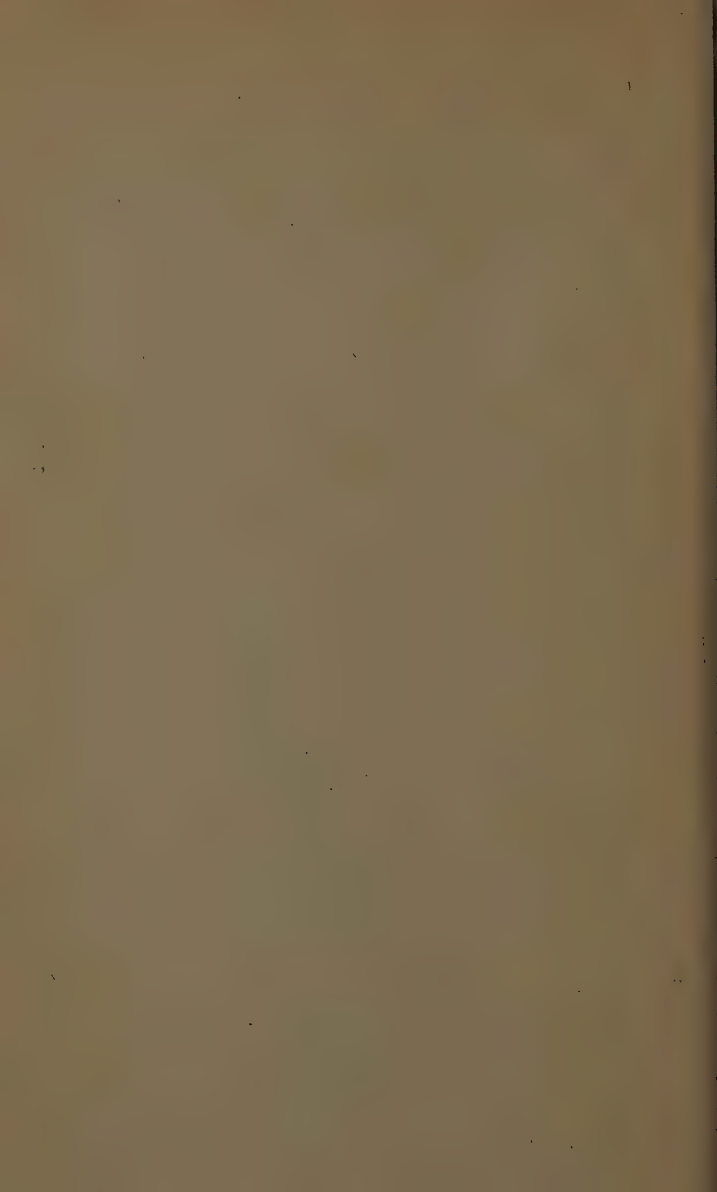
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